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## PREHISTORY IN MIDDLE AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

It is claimed that Mommsen never heard of the glacial epoch and yet Henry Adams said that man during a very long period of time was viewed as a "function" of the ice age. As an archaeologist I take pride in the foundations which, in so many places, archaeology has supplied to history. The re-writing of the early history of the Near East has been made necessary by the investigations of archaeologists. Even the sacredness and the truth of the written word have often been questioned and overthrown by the "shovelful of facts" of the digger. Five thousand years, it is often claimed, have been added to the historical period. But can archaeological facts always be called history?

As I have heard no protests from the historians on the validity of linking archaeology and history so intimately together, I venture as an archaeologist to offer some observations and reservations on this marriage. Is there justification for calling archaeology pre-history? If we mean that type of history formerly defined as a record of past events, of a succession of conquests and the rise and fall of kingdoms, archaeology, even without an accompanying literature, can be of much help. If, on the other hand, we mean the history of ideas, a social history, an account of how things came about,

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Hispanic-American session of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence in 1936.

archaeology, divorced from textual parallels, is of surprisingly little value. To the archaeologist, the finest of all documents are refuse heaps. These do furnish stratigraphic and historical sequences of objects, but their value as history is distinctly defective. History cannot be written only in terms of a purely material culture. It must be remembered that archaeology deals not only with a physical world, but a world of matter which is time-resisting. Too many cultures have been "established" after finding a stone implement embedded in the jaw bone of an ass.

Harvard has just been going through the "rites of passage" into its fourth century. Suppose another hundred years marked the beginning of its end and that a thousand years hence Harvard had long been a pile of bricks and stones and a mass of rusted metal. What data would the archaeologist find with which to write the history of those hectic Tercentenary days and the character of the celebration? Alone resisting time and the seasons there would be some bronze medals and two stone monuments, one a gift from China and the other from Japan. Could the rising young archaeologist in 2936 be blamed for writing a Doctor's dissertation on the strong Mongolian influence at the celebration of Harvard's three hundredth anniversary? I repeat that painfully meager are the data of history derived alone from the imperishable archives excavated by the shovels of the archaeologist.

Geology is more akin to archaeology than is history. Archaeology is a science and, properly conducted, an exact one. It began as a deductive study. History accumulates its facts before it advances theories. The inductive approach has usually been entirely absent in archaeological studies. From the first it has been too top-heavy with theories and dogmas and its constantly increasing assemblage of new facts causes a corresponding procession of ever-changing theses. The Lost Tribes of Israel, it is true, have disappeared from current literature, but the sunken continents of Atlantis and of Mu are still objects of concern to some writers. Even the best of

archaeologists fall back on the label "ceremonial" for any unusual specimen, the use of which is problematical.

Twenty-five years ago Americanists were very confident that they knew a great deal about the arrival of man upon this continent and his subsequent history here. Ten and fifteen years ago this confidence began to be shaken, until today the charlatans of archaeology (and what a host of them there is!) seem to be the only ones who feel at all confident that any of our large archaeological questions have been definitely settled. These archaeological quacks have no hesitation in telling us the ancient history of the New World. To more conservative and less head-line seeking writers, the results of each archaeological dig make the larger questions more and more baffling.

I have written elsewhere of three trends now present in the archaeological field in America. The first may be called a vertical one, a more exhaustive and intensive study of a given site with all the newer techniques now open to the archaeologist; the second is a horizontal extension over several "disciplines" now so successfully being undertaken by the Carnegie Institution and covered by Dr. Kidder in the following paper. The third trend is a wider realization of the interrelation of different cultures which, for a long time, had been considered as more or less separate entities. The spatial extension is shown by the triangulation of ceramic wares and wide evidences of trade relations, Mexico is linked with the lower Mississippi Valley, North America is joined with the southern continent. In spite of these far-flung horizons we still refuse to see anything outside the New World of archaeological import in our problems.

A fourth trend<sup>2</sup> may be seen running through the entire field of American archaeology, that of cutting down the time scale of the higher cultures many hundreds of years. The sober-minded Americanist seldom allowed, even in the earlier

<sup>2</sup> A. V. Kidder, "Speculations on New World Prehistory" in *Essays in Anthropology presented to A. L. Kroeber June 11, 1936* (Berkeley, 1936), pp. 143-151.

days, the word "millenia" to enter his vocabulary, but now with more careful and scientific methods of dating, it is with difficulty that we can get far beyond the birth of Christ for any definite data other than the first probable evidence of man in the New World. The "craving for great antiquity" will never, I fear, be scientifically satisfied.

As the details in our knowledge of archaeological areas increase, owing to more intensive work in each district, the realization of our failure to find answers to fundamental problems comes home to us more and more. In one American archaeological area alone definite advances on a large scale are being made. In our Southwest, long-continued, aggressive, and modern attacks on the problems are yielding fruits, and yet it was only five years ago that much of the prehistoric story of the Southwest had to be rewritten. Dendrochronology, the study of tree rings, has supplied an ideal time scale into which sites and cultures are fitted.

In the Middle American area conditions are far less satisfactory. Over two years ago I wrote an article entitled "Maya Research"<sup>3</sup> consisting mainly of a series of questions covering the many *lacunae* in our knowledge. Today those same questions are pertinent, together with a few new ones.

With over eight hundred known archaeological sites in the Maya area, in less than a dozen of these have careful and extensive excavations been made. In no case at those few places where investigations have been carried on, has more than the smallest fraction of the area been excavated.

Our earliest evidence of man in Middle America is well above the primitive, even if this word is used either in its real meaning of first, or in its derived meaning of crude. There is nothing in this area which shows the faintest reflection of a hunting stage of existence. Up to the present time everything found is some distance above this horizon. Our earliest man here has a well developed pottery industry with hand-made figurines, ornaments, agriculture and other industries

<sup>3</sup>"Maya Research," in *Maya Research* (New York, 1934), I. (no. 1), 3-19.

far removed from those associated with any early man in the European use of the word. This archaic culture is difficult to date, but in the Valley of Mexico it does not seem to get back much before the beginning of the Christian era.

There are in the Middle American area a few standard sections, as the geologist would call them—series of archaeological periods established by most careful study of stratification or by calendrical sequence. The most satisfactory datum or standard section is to be found in the Valley of Mexico. Here, after five years of most painstaking study, Dr. Vaillant has established a definite sequence of cultures which starts with the Archaic and gradually leads through the intermediate period, marked by the term "Toltec," to the Aztecs and the Conquest. This is the sole datum in Middle America starting from the earliest present evidences of man's occupation, and leading in an unbroken record to the Conquest. For the latter quarter of the way, literature is present to play its part with actual pictures of historical events.

In the Maya area, the situation is far from being as neatly settled as in Mexico. There is an archaic horizon which has not yet been definitely equated with that in the Valley of Mexico. It appears in only a few places and presents many problems. Satisfactory stratigraphic sections have singularly failed to put in an appearance in any numbers in the Maya area. Our main pottery sequence is based not upon superimposed strata, but upon the disposition of wares in various vaults and disused rooms in a single Maya structure. Then there is the clear-cut calendar and its series of datable monuments and buildings stretching over a period of about seven centuries. This is exact and entirely satisfactory as a self-contained system of dates but, most unfortunately, it is now floating in the air. To stabilize and anchor it to our chronology is a matter of keen controversy. Astronomy has been called in to settle the equation, but as yet the results are not acceptable to the majority of Maya students. The two main correlations differ from each other by about 260 years. The

earliest dated monument would thus be either 68 or 327 A.D. There is a tendency to move the whole system up another 260 years, making the earliest stela about 587. An intensive study of the architecture and of ceramics will, it is hoped, prove an aid in settling this important time scale.

Three pre-Columbian Maya manuscripts managed to escape the fanatic zeal of the Spaniards. A literature is a rare hand-maiden for American archaeology. But these codices are singularly disappointing, so far as history is concerned. There are tables of eclipses and planetary sequences of interest to astronomers, there are divinatory devices, but so far as we know at present, no texts touching either history or biography.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions present the same lack of documentary material bearing on the life of the past other than dates and astronomical data. That the undeciphered material in the inscriptions may prove to be historical is a wish father of the thought.

The numerous pictorial representations in the bas-reliefs on temple walls, on columns and on lintels, in the fresco paintings—how much do these aid us in the field of history? Priest and acolyte, sacrifice and penance, religious rites are there in abundance, but of actual history—again disappointment. We know that toward the end of Maya history, roughly about the thirteenth century, there arrived in northern Yucatan a body of Mexicans who brought with them new ideas on religion and architecture. This period was marked by the conquest of Chichen Itza by the Mexicans. This subjection of the Mayas is illustrated on gold discs, in fresco painting and in stone bas-reliefs. These form the only actual illustrated history of the Mayas at all comparable with the pictorial reviews of the main events in Aztec history, as shown in their manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

One of the most effective means of determining movements

<sup>4</sup> A. M. Tozzer, "Maya and Toltec Figures at Chichen Itza," in *Proceedings of the Twenty-third International Congress of Americanists, 1928* (New York, 1930), pp. 155-164.

of people, together with interchange of ideas, is by the study of the distribution of objects traded from place to place. There are traces of excellent roads running long distances from city to city. Travel by sea was not uncommon. It will be remembered that Columbus on his fourth voyage met a trading canoe eight feet in width. The occupants were Mayas. In Mexico, the Aztec merchants formed a privileged caste. With staffs in hand, they traveled in groups long distances, often absent from their homes for a year at a time. They went as far south as Guatemala. Objects, passing from hand to hand, traveled much longer distances. Archaeology is constantly revealing jade and gold pieces, pottery and shell objects far afield from the places of their manufacture. Objects from as far away as Colombia in the south and from Central Mexico in the north have been found in northern Yucatan. On the triangulations established mainly by pieces traded between site and site, we depend in many places for the synchronizing of our history. A similar type of ware, or a similar technique of decoration found in two sites far distant from each other may serve to prove two standard sections are contemporaneous.

As we approach the time of the Spanish Conquest there are several types of data which give us some historical perspective. The so-called Chilam Balam books of the Mayas are documents written in their language, but in Spanish characters. Copies of earlier manuscripts, they were perhaps originally written in the hieroglyphic writing. They are legendary and historical accounts of several of the ruling families or dynasties extending into the early Spanish period. Here is garbled history presenting a mass of conflicting data which are impossible to harmonize.

In proportion to the wealth of material, the help archaeology has given to the social history of the Mayas is disappointing. In contrast, may I speak of the aid history has given to archaeology in the Middle American field? I pass over the mass of ethnological detail in Oviedo, in Sahagún

and in many other early authors. Landa in his famous *Relación*<sup>5</sup> of 1566 tells us of the ceremony for rain at the Cenote of Sacrifice at Chichen Itza. He writes,

Into this well they have had, and had then, the custom of casting men alive as a sacrifice to their gods. . . . They also threw into it many other things, like precious stones and things which they prized.

This and other early accounts of the ceremonies around this well gave an incentive for its dredging. Thirty or more years ago this was undertaken and Landa's account was amply verified.

In Panama an extensive cemetery in the province of Coclé is excavated. Skeletons are found, some with gold hats, breast plates, ear decorations, necklaces, armlets and leglets—all of gold. Gaspar de Espinosa, in Panama, in 1519, tells us of the dramatic finding of the dead body of the chief, Parita, prepared for burial:

On his head was "a great basin of gold like a casque", around his neck were four or five necklaces of gold, his arms and legs were cased in tubes of gold, his chest and shoulders were covered with plates and medals of gold, around his waist was a golden belt from which hung bells of the same metal. In short he appeared to wear a golden coat of mail.<sup>6</sup>

With the exception of the golden belt, every other piece of adornment has been found *in situ* on the skeletons of Coclé. Here history and archaeology are indispensable to each other. When the last Babylonian King Nabonidus, about 550 B.C., stated that he was attempting to restore in its original style a temple built more than 2000 years before, he was working along the same archaeological lines as those architects and craftsmen who are so successfully restoring Williamsburg to its seventeenth century appearance. Here history and archaeology are one.

<sup>5</sup> Manuscript, folio 49 v.; Brasseur edition, p. 344.

<sup>6</sup> S. K. Lothrop, *Coclé, An Archaeological Study of Central Panama*. In "Peabody Museum Memoirs", VII (Cambridge, 1937), 46.

It is the larger historical perspective on the pre-history of Hispanic America that archaeology has failed to reveal. Our knowledge of details is often very great. We know pieces of the whole historical picture, but our failure to know how these pieces are to be fitted together is in contrast to the wealth of facts. With several hundreds of decipherable dates, a hundred or more lunar calendars, tables of eclipses and of the planets, hundreds of ruined buildings and thousands of smaller objects, many of us feel far from satisfied that there is at present any clear picture of the story of the Mayas. May I be forgiven by my colleagues for exposing our ignorance? I hasten to add it is not the illiteracy of an adult but the inapprehension of the child. After all, archaeology as a precise science is extremely young. Present studies, with new trends of greater vertical and horizontal amplitudes seem destined to place Middle American archaeology within a firm historical and cultural setting.

The far too pessimistic attitude shown in this paper will be ably counteracted by the present achievements and the high hopes of future progress represented by the studies now being carried on in Middle America, to be described in the following papers by Dr. Kidder and Dr. Redfield.

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## A PROGRAM FOR MAYA RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

Shortly after the war, the mortuary magnificence of King Tutankamen put archaeology definitely on the map. That dramatic and skilfully press-agented discovery has made front page news of the results of all subsequent excavations, with the result that, in the public mind at least, the whole anthropological dog has come more and more to be wagged by its relatively unimportant archaeological tail. This is unfortunate, for over-emphasis upon the romantic, treasure-hunting aspects of archaeology leads to demand by the sponsors of expeditions, and even by the directors of many museums, for rich and striking finds. Thus, archaeologists are often only allowed to excavate where spectacular discoveries may be expected, and are turned aside from their proper business, which is the study of the long, slow growth of human culture and the formulation of those problems of the development of society whose solution is, in last analysis, the common aim of both anthropology and history.

Archaeology, rightly conceived, is a historical discipline. Its primary task is to reconstruct man's career through the uncounted centuries of his preliterate, undocumented past. But the materials of archaeology are so scanty, so fragmentary, and so difficult of interpretation, that it seems doubtful, whether one can arrive, by archaeological means alone, at valid historical conclusions. In striving to develop a method by which the imperfect archaeological record can be supplemented and so rendered more fully comprehensible, Carnegie Institution of Washington has undertaken the researches in Middle America of which I shall speak this morning.

The Institution's program, it must be admitted, has, like Topsy, "just growed." It was inaugurated more than twenty

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Hispanic-American session of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence in 1936.

years ago by Dr. S. G. Morley, as a purely epigraphic study, an effort to decipher the Maya hieroglyphic writing. But Morley soon realized that the glyphs constituted only one small part of the achievement of this most brilliant of aboriginal American civilizations. Under his leadership, there opened a period of explorations and excavations in key sites which, in conjunction with the work of other institutions, notably the Peabody Museum of Harvard, has given us a rough working outline of the course of events in the Maya area prior to the landing of Columbus.

Thus, it is now believed that Maya civilization roots back to a primitive maize-growing culture which originated well before the birth of Christ somewhere in the cordilleran uplands—whether in Middle or in South America is still problematical. Eventually, by migration or by diffusion to an already resident population, the cultivation of maize was brought to the immensely fertile lowlands of what is now northern Guatemala, where abundant crops produced a high degree of material prosperity, which in turn made possible the extraordinary intellectual and artistic efflorescence of the Old Empire Maya.

The phase we call the Old Empire seems to have opened at about the time of Christ at such cities as Tikal and Uaxactun. There, at all events, are found the earliest dated stelae. From that nucleus Maya civilization spread over a large territory, to reach, during the approximately five centuries of the Old Empire, artistic and intellectual heights not attained by any other native American group.

Without benefit of metal tools, beasts of burden, or knowledge of the wheel, the Maya succeeded in subduing a densely jungled country. In scores of cities they erected an incredibly great number of richly adorned religious structures. They also developed a system of hieroglyphic writing, by means of which, on stone monuments and in books, they recorded their ceremonies, their history and their remarkable astronomical and calendrical calculations.

For reasons still unknown, the whole Old Empire region was, apparently suddenly, abandoned, but prior to that time colonies had penetrated to northern Yucatan, where, after the renaissance of the New Empire, there ensued a period of civil war, foreign invasion and general collapse. When the Spaniards arrived in the early years of the sixteenth century, Maya civilization had gone far toward decay.

The achievements of the Old Empire Maya provide us with an excellent example of those astounding and explosive bursts of vigor which, taking place from time to time, and in various parts of the world, have so profoundly influenced the course of history. Some have been manifested in sweeping military adventures, others in sudden acceleration of material progress, or, as with the Maya and the Greeks, in unprecedented intellectual and esthetic developments. Mysterious as such episodes may at first sight appear, fuller knowledge usually brings at least partial explanation. The Golden Age of Greece is now seen as a brilliant blazing-up of a cultural fire long smouldering in adjacent, older lands; it is already certain that the Maya flame was likewise kindled elsewhere. But what we do not know, and what it is of the utmost importance that we should know, is why the Mongols, or the Greeks, or the Maya offered at a given moment such ready tinder for what we must suppose to have been errant and wide-flying sparks.

Civilizations rise; also do they fall. And of the latter seemingly inevitable, but equally little understood and equally important phenomenon, the collapse of the Maya offers an illustration which will be of much value for the comparative study of the lives of cultures, if it proves possible to discern the causes which brought it about.

As I have said, the Carnegie Institution's work in the Maya field was originally epigraphic, then more broadly archaeological. At the conclusion of the first decade of the investigation we were in possession of a large body of facts, and many concrete problems had been formulated whose solution

could be counted upon to throw additional light on the nature of the Maya culture and upon events in the Maya area. But other questions had arisen which could not be answered by the purely archaeological methods we had, until then, been using. Furthermore, early attempts at interpretation of our archaeological findings in terms of history found us without adequate information in many fields which the archaeologist has neither the ability nor the time to till. So there has gradually been organized what might be called a panscientific attack carried on in part by Institution workers, and in part by other agencies interested in Middle American problems.

One group of investigations concerns the living Maya, and logically first comes consideration of who and what the Maya are. These questions lie in the province of physical anthropology, the science which deals with the bodily structure of mankind. Answers are needed in order that we may judge of the origin of the Maya and of the degree of their relationship to other aborigines of Middle America. We wish to know, for example, whether or not they are closely allied to the highland peoples from whom they seem to have derived the germs of their culture; whether they give evidence of racial homogeneity or of extensive crossing. Also, it is necessary to learn what admixture of Caucasian blood has taken place since the Conquest.

Anthropometric observations are accordingly being made by Dr. Steggerda of the Institution's Department of Genetics. Dr. Steggerda has also collected data regarding the growth of Maya children, upon dental conditions and upon the basal metabolism of the Maya, all of which are of value for the medical survey being carried on by Dr. George C. Shattuck of the Harvard School of Public Health.

Closely related to the researches in physical anthropology are those in medicine. No final appraisal of the bodily make-up of a people can be made without knowledge of the factors which control their health. Their material and intellectual accomplishment are presumably largely dependent

upon their physical condition. The findings of medicine are essential for the study of modern social and economic conditions in Yucatan. Their value for the historical investigation, although less obvious, is also very great. It has, for example, been suggested by Spinden that the fall of the Old Empire may have been brought about by the wasting effect of endemic yellow fever. Whether or not this was the case must be settled by medical evidence. And even if this devastating disease should prove not to have been present in the New World in pre-Spanish times, other maladies—either virulent, such as syphilis, or subtle as are nutritional troubles—may have exercised deep influence upon the career of the Maya. Malaria, now the most harmful of all tropical diseases, may also have been present. To settle such points the archaeologist-historian must have the coöperation of the student of medicine.

From the beginning it was realized that studies would have to be made upon the social and economic life of the present-day Maya. Only with thorough knowledge of the living people and of modern conditions can one utilize understandingly the documentary records of the post-Conquest period, and from them work still further backward into prehistoric times.

The ethnological investigation is being carried on in coöperation with the University of Chicago and under Dr. Redfield's direction, by himself, Señor Alfonso Villa, and Dr. and Mrs. Sol Tax, the two former working in Yucatan, Dr. and Mrs. Tax in Guatemala. From the beginning, Dr. Redfield has insisted that the study should not be a mere search for relics of ancient culture, but rather an attempt to comprehend the structure of modern society.

Linguistic research, an integral part of the study of the living Maya, remains to be considered. Thorough investigation of the large and territorially wide-spread group of tongues constituting the Maya stock may confidently be expected to throw much light upon the broader linguistic problems of aboriginal America. This, and its obviously very important bearing upon linguistic science as a whole, need not concern

us here, as at the moment we are primarily interested in its application to specific questions of Maya history. Seen from that point of view, the work is of undoubted significance. First, comparative analysis of the different Maya dialects should permit judgment as to the amount of time which has elapsed since they ceased to form part of a single parent language, and as to the order and antiquity of their separation. Second, the study of vocabularies might possibly indicate, by common possession of terms for objects not found or activities no longer pursued in their present habitats, the nature of the country originally inhabited by the Maya. Third, knowledge of modern Maya is the first step toward ultimate reading of those parts of inscriptions which are not now decipherable.

Other researches concern the all-important matters of nutrition, food-supply, and the agricultural practices of the Maya. These bear upon social life, health conditions, disease, and upon the vital problem of the size of the population which any given part of the area could have supported. The agro-nomic studies are being made by Messrs. Kempton and Collins of the United States Bureau of Plant Industry, and Dr. Lundell of the University of Michigan; those on foods by Dr. Steggerda and Dr. Benedict of the Institution's Nutrition Laboratory.

All the foregoing have to do with the living Maya. The gap between the present and the prehistoric past must be bridged by study of the documentary history of the nearly four hundred years which have elapsed since the Conquest. Its direct relations to archaeology are numerous and important. The accounts of the conquerors and early ecclesiastics contain much detailed information as to the aboriginal condition of the Maya. They also make clear the methods worked out by the incoming Spaniards for government of the native population, and so explain the basis upon which modern society rests. The historical section of the program has been intrusted to Mr. Scholes, whose researches in the Mexican and European archives have been reported to this body at a

former session. They are now being supplemented by Dr. Robert Chamberlain's studies of the Conquest of Yucatan, Guatemala, and other regions occupied by Maya-speaking peoples.

Another documentary project strikes even further into the past than does examination of the Spanish sources. It consists of the translation and annotation of the Books of Chilam Balam. These were written by native Maya shortly after the Conquest. They are transcriptions, in the Latin character, of pre-existing historic records kept in hieroglyphic writing. The Books of Chilam Balam are of the utmost value, for they give in outline the events of the latter part of the pre-Columbian period. Their time-counts also extend into the historic period, thus offering one category of evidence for correlating Maya and Christian chronology.

It is important to know the racial make-up of the Maya, their present health, their customs, and the events of their recent career. It is essential that we should learn from the ruins their distribution and their arts in the centuries before the Conquest. But the "hows" of all these things, to say nothing of the even more significant "whys", we can not grasp; in other words, we can not write history until we understand the environment which, from the earliest times to the present day, must have played so large a part in shaping the course of their existence.

Undertakings designed to provide information upon the environment have been various. The geology of the Old Empire region has been studied by Dr. C. Wythe Cook of the United States Geological Survey, who has propounded the interesting theory that overcultivation led to soil erosion with such extensive silting-up of former lakes as to render the country uninhabitable. Vulcanological research, begun by Dr. Ziess of Carnegie Institution, is of much importance, as the age of the great beds of tufa, which blanket so much of the highlands, has direct bearing upon the problem of Maya origins.

Climate is, of course, one of the most potent of all environmental factors, particularly in the case of a primitive agricultural people. And the Maya area possesses a wide range of climates. The Institution has established a field observatory at Chichen; records have been made as opportunity has permitted, at Uaxactun and elsewhere. The Blue Hill Observatory of Harvard has coöperated in studying these data and in assembling and digesting all other available meteorological information for Yucatan, Guatemala, and Honduras.

Geographic as well as geological work has been sadly hampered by lack of adequate maps. Research in human geography, however, with especial reference to land utilization, industries, and trade, has been forwarded by Dr. Steggerda of the Institution, and by Drs. Wallace and Rollin Atwood of Clark University and the University of Florida, respectively.

The significance of the faunal and floral environments is self-evident. We have been singularly fortunate in securing the coöperation of the University of Michigan, which is carrying on a general biological survey of the entire area. A half-dozen expeditions have already been in the field. Many publications have resulted upon birds, mammals, fishes, and reptiles; and, in botany, upon the taxonomic and phytogeographic aspects of the flora. Dr. Pearse of Duke University has spent two seasons in Yucatan, investigating the fauna of the inland waters.

I have considered the various aspects of the Maya program at length because I wish to make clear the awesome size of the task which must be faced in any attempt to grapple with all factors involved in even so relatively limited a research as that upon the Maya.

The undertaking is still in the stage of experimentation. But in spite of all uncertainties, one may feel confidence in the soundness of this type of approach. For the activities of the documentary historian, the linguist, the ethnologist, the agronomist, the physical anthropologist, have not only helped the archaeologist, but have already resulted in the formulation

of a host of special problems of modern life which are themselves insoluble save on the evidence of what has gone before. Thus the present and the past have been firmly interlinked; and the realization has been driven home that neither one can be understood save in the light of the other. So there has been a shift in emphasis, or rather a broadening of outlook; and what was originally the study of a single episode, the pre-Columbian era of Maya greatness, has become the envisagement of a continuously sweeping current of history. And the investigations in biology, geology, and climate are serving to spread an environmental screen upon which the moving picture of this people's fortunes may be thrown in clear focus.

Further prosecution of the program should result in our learning a great deal about the Maya, past and present. However, the danger always exists that persons closely involved in such a project may become so absorbed in its fascinating details as to lose sight of major objectives. Archaeologists are particularly liable to this sort of side-tracking. Archaeology, as I said at the beginning, is merely the tail of the anthropological dog; and that dog himself is only one member of the whole humanistic pack. So, to keep ourselves in proper balance, we have tried to remember that our work must always be closely integrated with that of other disciplines in joint attack upon the problems of this part of Hispanic America.

To the present gathering there is no need to stress the importance of the Hispanic American field. In few regions is so much to be learned; and the questions awaiting solution are of the most fundamental significance. Take, for example, the matter of the meeting there of Indian and European. In the United States, we settled our Indian question quickly and effectively by exterminating the Indian. But in Middle America and in western South America the native populations were too dense, too far along on the road to civilization, and too potentially useful to their conquerors to be handled so simply. When the Spaniards came, the flimsy native political structures fell apart, the Indian nations were intellectually decap-

itated by the destruction of their small theocratic upper classes, in whom resided all power and all learning; but there were left the teeming millions which from the sixteenth century on have formed the body of the population. They have influenced the Caucasian immigrants quite as much as the latter have affected them. The social systems and governments of great areas in Hispanic America are the outcome of the blending of the two groups. Analysis of the interplay of racial and cultural forces, past and present, is essential for understanding the prehistoric period, the Conquest, the course of events since the Conquest, and the extraordinarily interesting conditions which exist in those countries at the present day.

We who work in Hispanic America have opportunity to develop methods for coördination of effort, for pooling of information, and for bringing about a close intellectual relationship among archaeologists, ethnologists, and historians, which will not only further our immediate common interests, but which should aid in ultimate achievement of a better integrated science of man.

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## THE SECOND EPILOGUE TO MAYA HISTORY<sup>1</sup>

Maya history is a drama, the story of the rise and fall of a civilization. The beginning of the drama lies in the archaeological evidence as to the primitive mode of life out of which grew the books, calendars, and dynastic states of the later Maya. The climax lies in the conquest and downfall of that civilization at the hands of the Spaniards.

It is also perceived that Maya history has its epilogue, a final piece spoken after the play is really ended, in the events involving the Itza of Tayasal. That a remnant of a Maya tribe escaped the Conquest until 1702, and on a remote lake maintained Maya culture for more than a century after European power and civilization had occupied the rest of the peninsula of Yucatan, furnishes an afterpiece to the Maya drama quite within the established conventions of literary composition. There, with the conquest of this last remnant, from the point of view of art, Maya history should come to an end.

But, of course, events do not end where a curtain should come down. The history of Maya civilization, like that of other civilizations, continues, in a sense, indefinitely. It continued in Yucatan after the Conquest. Maya culture was radically altered by conqueror and missionary, but it was not obliterated. It continued to affect the mode of living in the peninsula, and to be affected by subsequent events. Thousands of people in Yucatan continue today to speak, farm, build houses, and hold various beliefs in ways learned, through their parents and grandparents, from Indians who were there before the Conquest. On the other hand, the development of the McCormick reaper and binder, with the resulting demand for Yucatecan sisal fiber, and the discovery by an American confectioner and business man that people

<sup>1</sup> Paper read at the Hispanic-American session of the meeting of the American Historical Association at Providence in 1936.

would buy a chewing gum made of Yucatecan chicle, are, in this extended sense, events in Maya history. Both had great effect upon the Maya of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Those of us who are engaged in the study of the present-day people of Yucatan, are studying, it would seem, a sort of second epilogue to Maya history. We are learning something about Maya culture after its history had become a part of the history of Hispanic American culture. The curtain is long since down, and the show over, but a new show, based on the first, with a cast of characters in part the same, has been going on ever since.

I will say something here on the methods used by this group of ethnologists in this study, and something about the conclusions to which the study is leading.

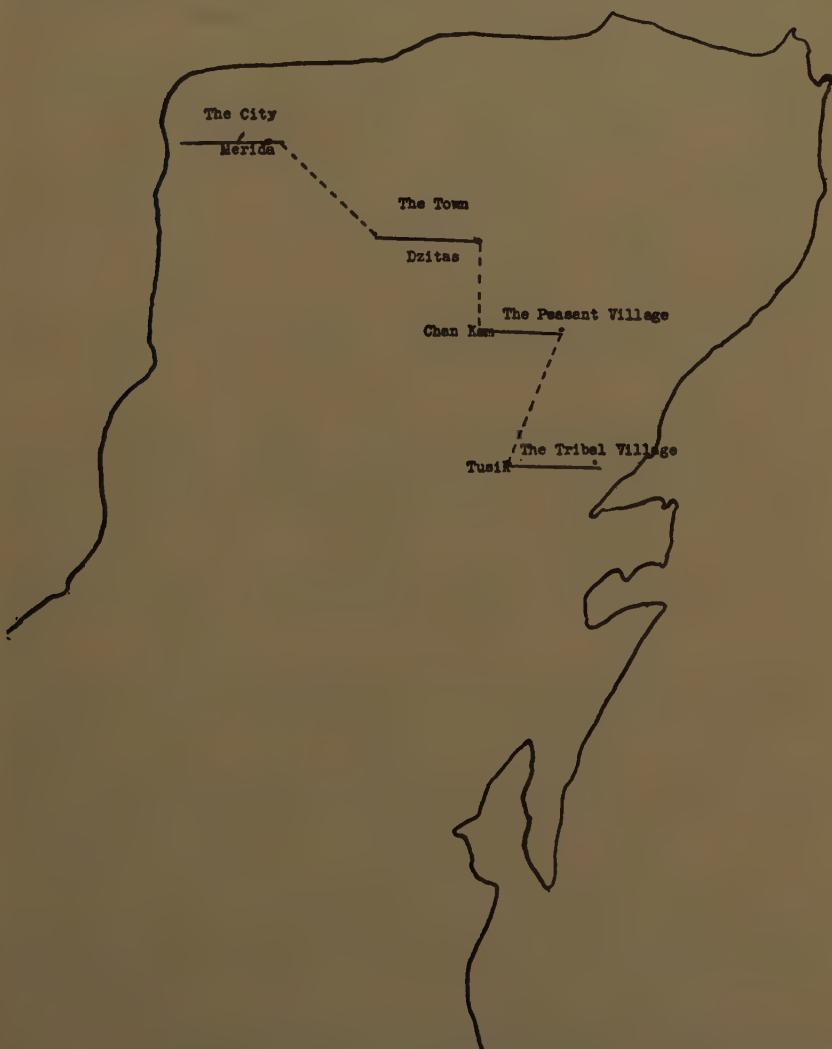
Strictly speaking, these methods are not historical at all. Ethnologists study and report what takes place in the outward behavior, and, inferentially, in the minds, of people living today. We have no direct source of information as to what their predecessors were doing, except insofar as, occasionally, we may induce some old person to reminisce. And in the Maya villages we have been studying there are no documents except those we make ourselves by filling our notebooks. Without either a past, or a body of documents, how may one claim to be a historian?

I will take refuge in the commonplace that all knowledge as to the past is an inference from something known in the present. We have in our ethnological work in Yucatan, an arrangement of present phenomena from which inferences may be drawn as to the past. Think of Yucatan as a sort of stairway from modern civilization down into a primitive mode of living characteristic of the past. The stairway runs south-eastward. On the topmost step, in the northwestern corner of the peninsula, is Mérida, the one city, eight times as large as the community next in size. Here the Spaniards established the center of the new civilization and authority they brought

to Yucatan, and from here ever since have emanated practically all influences for further culture change. We have made a study of the mode of living of the people of this city. The roads and railroads of Yucatan spread fanwise out from Mérida, serving the area of dense population in the northwest, where the sisal fiber is cultivated. We have made a study of a town on the railroad in this area, the second step on the stairway. The people of this town, mixed-bloods and Indians like those of the capital city, have been in contact with the city, especially in the last thirty years, since when the railroad has connected them with Mérida. But compared with the city dweller, these townsmen are isolated provincials. Beyond the railroad, still further southeastward, there is a higher, denser bush where no sisal is commercially produced. The settlements here are occupied by Indians who are truly rustic peasants. They pay taxes, have simple schools, and even vote. But to the village on this third stair which we chose for study, it is four hours' walk through the forest from the nearest road. The villagers here, much more than do the townsmen, cling to the ancient ways. Beyond this group of villages there is a zone of uninhabited forest. It has been a sort of no-man's-land ever since the war between Indians and whites which broke out in the 1850's and never really came to an end. Beyond this zone one reaches the bottom step on the stairway of Yucatan: a group of villages of Indians that never capitulated to the government after the War of the Castes. Although the natives here were christianized by missionaries in the colonial period, and although at one time a Spanish road, lined by Spanish estates, ran through this territory, European occupation was later forced to withdraw. And today the natives live secluded in a forest penetrated only by chicle-gatherers, traveling-merchants, and an occasional archaeologist. They are the last Maya Indians to preserve tribal independence.

Four communities, one on each step of the stair, have been

studied.<sup>2</sup> To avoid the use of the unfamiliar place names, I will refer to them as the city, the town, the peasant village, and the tribal village. Two general observations should be made about them.



<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. T. Hansen studied Mérida, Mrs. Redfield and I, Dzitas, Mr. Alfonso Villa and I, Chan Kom, and Mr. Villa, Tusik, in Quintana Roo.

First, the intensity of early Spanish influence upon Maya culture decreases as one goes down the stairway. But the two most remote communities, peasant village and tribal village, have a similar heritage of almost pure Indian blood and of mixed Indian-Spanish culture. It was the War of the Castes that separated these two Indian village groups, and made two cultures out of what, a hundred years ago, was probably one culture. Second, the degree of isolation of the communities since the expansive period of early Spanish occupation and missionizing, increases as one goes down the stairway. As I have said, the tribal village has remained out of touch with civilization for generations. But new ideas, from baseball and Paris fashions to communism and theosophy, keep the way of life agitated in the city. In this respect, the town and peasant village occupy two intermediate points.

When the four communities are compared, first, to see the extent to which there is a common culture throughout the peninsula, one is struck by the great degree to which modes of living are the same, even in tribal village and in modern city. If a lower or middle class city dweller were to go to the remotest village, he would find a rude settlement of half-hostile primitive people, and would probably dislike it very much and wish to be back home. As they would speak Maya, and he, perhaps, only Spanish, he could not talk with them. Nevertheless, he would find much of their mode of living familiar. Indian ways have penetrated into the city, and Spanish ways into the Indian villages to such an extent that there is a great deal of customary life which the native of either city or remote village would find perfectly commonplace and understandable in the culture of the other. I cannot here take the time to depict for you in detail that world of conventional meanings which the Spanish-Indian contact has made general and more or less uniform throughout Yucatan. City-born laborer and distant tribesman have much the same knowledge of how to measure and prepare a cornfield, how to sow, harvest, and store the maize, and how to prepare it in the most usual edible

forms. So also are general many elements of clothing—sandals, which are Indian, and hats and short trousers, which are European. General throughout are the methods of animal husbandry, of raising sugarcane, and the use of many metal tools, rice, coffee, chocolate beaters and pots, certain herbal medicine, the making of and sleeping in hammocks, the raising of turkeys and the feeling that they are appropriate for festal eating. But less tangible elements of living are as widely and generally understood. Everywhere the same names and something of the personal and religious qualities are given to God, the Virgin, Christ, and the principal saints; the chief Catholic prayers are known; the sign of the cross has religious or magical power, there is understanding of vespers, octave, and novena. Everywhere oaths may be taken by kissing the cross, and kneeling is a sign of respect. The Christian calendar, including the week, and alphabetic writing, are known and to some degree used everywhere. In all the communities the danger of the evil eye is recognized. So also it is believed that sickness and other misfortune may come with intangible "winds" that invest persons on certain occasions. All babies are carried on the hip after they are about three months old, and it is thought appropriate, or at least traditional, to make a certain little ceremony the first time this is done. So, too, it is correct to rinse out one's mouth before and after eating, and it is known how to whistle a certain whistle when you want wind to come. It is everywhere understood that foods and medicines fall into one of two curious and non-rational categories: "cold" or "hot".

The essentials of kinship organization are basically the same throughout the area. Tribal Indian and city workman of Spanish blood can equally understand the notions of the proper subordination of women to men, the propriety of respect of elders by young people, and especially the institution of godparenthood with its concomitant relationship between parents and godparents of a baptized child. Whether Maya or Spanish be spoken, the terms used for kinsmen, with a few

small exceptions, denote the same categories of relatives everywhere.

This may be summarized by saying that the Indian techniques of raising and cooking corn, of building thatched houses, of making sandals or hammocks, and a number of other things, have survived and become a part of the present culture of Yucatan. With these elements have also persisted, even in the city, bits of belief, little domestic rituals, and fragments of lore. These latter have no doubt been carried on by Indian women, as wives, mistresses, household servants, and nurses of Spanish children. On the other hand, while much European material culture has been completely assimilated, the striking fact is that the general basis of European social organization and the chief forms of the Catholic religion have also been assimilated, even by the most remote Indians of Quintana Roo.

I turn now to a comparison of the four communities with respect not as to how their cultures are alike, but as to how they differ in the presence or absence of Indian or of European elements. It is to be expected that pagan culture will be found best represented in the peripheral villages. This is true. In both the peasant and tribal villages, the pagan gods of the bush, of the cornfield, and of the village itself, are felt to be very real and close. In both communities, there is a series of agricultural ceremonies, the most important of which are carried on by special shaman-priests. These ceremonies include features which are beyond doubt Indian in origin. A special bark-beer is made and offered to the deities, as are certain ritual breadstuffs, made of maize and squash seeds. These are grouped on altars in an order symbolic of a quadrilaterally conceived cosmos, and of a hierarchy of rain- and forest-gods especially associated with the natural wells, and with the east. Women are excluded from ceremonies; sacred water is brought from a hidden cenote, or well; turkeys are strangled with bark-beer in their throats, as they are held by four men who bear the same names as those borne by the ancient priests

who held down the arms and legs of a sacrificed human victim. There is a special group of bee-gods, and special ceremonies to these.

These remarks only begin to mention the Indian elements that are still present in the peripheral villages. Furthermore, there are pagan elements present in the remotest of the four communities, that are not to be found in the others: a dance of women, with gourd rattles, around a table-altar; lustrative retreat for the shaman-priest; the use of what are apparently men's houses, one for each tribal band.

This is to be expected. What is more surprising, at first, is that some elements of Catholic ritual are more vigorously and completely present in the most peripheral community than in any of the other three. If we except from our comparison the relatively few strictly pious and conforming Catholics in the city, and confine our comparison to the lower and middle class mixed-blood people who constitute most of the population of the city and all of that of the town, it may be declared that, in matters of religious form, the tribal village is both more pagan and more Catholic than is any of the other communities. Only in the remote village is there a daily recitation of Catholic prayers (some in Maya, some in Spanish, and some in Latin), and only there are Masses frequently celebrated. These Indians have been without direct contact with priests of the church for several generations. Their supreme religious officer is a native, with an admixture of white blood, who received from his father and his grandfather the authority and the oral lore to carry on the ritual. The laymen of this community are familiar with all the principal prayers of Roman liturgy. Special communion maize bread is used, and a communion liquor made of honey and water. These people observe the principal, and even lesser saints' days, and all the essential elements of Lent and Holy Week, including Ash Wednesday and Palm Sunday. Only these people practice penance by approaching a shrine on their knees.

We recall the progressive decline of the Catholic church in

Mexico, the spread of secularization and rational philosophy in recent years, and the curb upon the clergy. Meanwhile, out in the forest, a Maya people preserve both the Christian lore and practice that the priests taught them long ago, and so much of their own more ancient native belief and ritual as survived the destruction of the temple-cities and of the upper levels of their priestly hierarchy.

But now another general fact must be brought forward. The fusion of such Spanish and Indian elements as are present is more nearly complete in the communities farthest from the city. The town is a heterogeneous sort of place, containing half-hearted Catholics who, upon occasion bring in from some village queer but powerful medicine men to perform rites that will assure a successful crop. In the peasant village, there are two cults, one carried on by the shaman-priest and directed to the pagan gods, and the other by a reciter of Catholic prayer and addressed to the saints. The two cults are parallel, complementary, and non-competing; they are separate aspects of what the natives feel to be a single body of pietistic practices. Finally, in the tribal village, Catholic and pagan ritual are intimately blended into a single cult. There, in a native hut that serves as a church, two altars are erected. One bears a cross, and represents the Most Beautiful Lord in that heaven called "Glory"; the other represents the gods of the rain and the cornfield. A single ritual involving both pagan and Christian prayers is carried on at these altars. The ancient pagan ritual maize breads are placed on both. There is one body of celebrants, who are participants in a Mass, and also votaries of the agricultural spirits. On Holy Friday, new fire is kindled at the door of this rustic temple, as is the practice in the Roman ritual. And it is said by the Indians that the kindled flame represents the re-birth of that ancient heroic personage, one Jesus, who was betrayed and destroyed long ago. But the fire is not kindled with flint and steel, but with the Indian fire drill, as was new fire kindled by the ancient Aztecs, and probably the ancient Maya. A special group of men, known as

men with "hot hands", kindle the fire. And the new fire, it is thought, must be brought to all the domestic hearths and there kept alive till the evening of Good Friday on the following year. This periodic renewing of the domestic fires from a new fire ceremonially kindled is a well attested aboriginal Indian rite.

The fact I have last cited—that Spanish and Indian elements are intimately fused in the peripheral communities—leads to a reformulation of our problem. What strikes one, as one goes from the city to the town, to the peasant village, to the tribal village, is not that life becomes more Indian and less European, but that life becomes more like that which is characteristic of isolated, non-literate, long-established peoples. One might say that the peripheral peoples are more primitive than the others, except that "primitive" might connote only simplicity of technology, and might suggest a rude or disorganized life. Much more than simplicity of technology is involved here. As one goes from the city to the tribal village, as one goes from a literate, mobile people to a non-literate, immobile people, one finds not less organization, but more. In the remoter villages, customs, beliefs, and institutions are organized into a self-consistent whole. Rite expresses belief, and is carried on as the collective utterance of a people whose fears and aspirations find an expression that is for them proper and inevitable. And as one goes from city to tribal village the homogeneity of behavior within the group increases; what is right for one man, is right for all the others. In the city there is so much variety, change, and superficiality that people are bewildered; the town is less confusing, but it is a house divided; the village life, however, has so much inner consistency that I think of its mode of life as a sort of structure, and feel that it could be diagrammed, or expressed in a three-dimensional model.

We might call the simple, isolated, established people with well organized cultures the "folk", and say that the "farness" of life in Yucatan increases as one goes southeastward

down the stairway I have imagined. The "folkness" of a culture is not dependent upon the historical source of its component elements. I have spoken of the institution of godparenthood as a feature of culture generally present in the peninsula. Although it may in part rest historically on some Indian custom of selecting sponsors for children, so far as inspection will reveal that institution is Spanish in form. This institution is more fully developed, more complexly and completely involved in other aspects of culture, in the villages than in the town. In the villages, the godparental institution is expressed in solemn ritual, and endorsed by mythology and belief. In town and city, it is a weaker, a more secular, thing. A Spanish custom, inculcated by the early priests, helps to give the primitive culture its essential character and organization.

There is an antithesis between the building-up of a cultural organization in isolation, and the breaking-down of that organization in the course of invasion and contact or of internal invention. When the Spaniards came to Yucatan, they performed a major operation on the native culture, removing, let us say, half the organism. Upon it they transplanted new organs, new customs, and new beliefs. Where isolation allowed it to happen—and the isolation was enough everywhere in the peninsula to allow it to happen to some degree everywhere—the graft took, and the re-made organism grew, flourished, developed, and elaborated its parts; and the parts became intimately interdependent upon one another. Some of the parts were Spanish grafts; they, like the Indian elements, developed and merged into a single new structure. The re-made ways of life, with little or no distinction as to Spanish or Indian origin recognized by the people, came to take on a feeling of rightness, to rest under moral and religious authority. This was the phase of culture growth. But meanwhile the opposite phase, that of civilization, was also present. New changes occurred; the colonial period came to an end; technological improvements and economic expansion penetrated

the peninsula; schools, revolution, political and economic events stirred even the distant forest dwellers. In the city, as in all cities, the stir has always been so great as to restrict the culture process. In the remote villages, the re-made culture was, until recently, little disturbed by civilization. Now the disorganizing influences are increasing, both in city and in village. In studying this second epilogue of Maya history, it seems that we are studying two complementary aspects, one, so to speak, anabolic, the other katabolic, of social change everywhere.

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## PORUGAL IN AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

In the address this evening an effort will be made to set forth a few of the more significant contributions of Portugal and its sons to the civilization of the New World. The task is not one to be entered upon lightly. The field is a relatively new one and the investigator finds few reliable guideposts. Works in English are scant and unsatisfactory while treatises in Portuguese are only beginning adequately to explore the subject. This comparative neglect becomes the more surprising when we recall that during the last decades much stress has been laid, and rightly so, on the accomplishments of Spain in America, especially in the Spanish borderlands which now form a part of our own southwest. Yet no one who has given any thought to the subject will deny the extremely important rôle which Portugal has played in the history of the western hemisphere, especially in South America. Even in the northern half of the American continent Lusitanian influence has by no means been negligible.

The emergence of Portugal as a great maritime and colonial power in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has long been a commonplace in European history. For reasons which it is not possible here even to summarize this little Iberian kingdom under the most able rulers of the House of Aviz appeared for a brief but dazzling moment as one of the great powers of the world. As the Brazilian sociologist Bomfin puts it:

The formation of Portual is characterized by a political precosity so striking that the miniature kingdom presents to us the appearance of the first complete nation of Europe in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Presidential address delivered before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, December 28, 1936.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Gilberto Freyre, *Casa Grande & Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro, 1934), p. 41.

Even a bald recital of Portuguese achievements at this period is impressive. Within the compass of barely two decades Portugal's daring mariners, following the course charted by the pilots of Prince Henry the Navigator, discovered the Cape of Good Hope under Bartholomew Diaz, and reached India under Vasco da Gama. Through the memorable voyage of Cabral Portugal laid claims to a large part of the South American continent. A few years later, Magalhães, whom we know as Magellan, sailing under the Spanish flag, commanded an expedition which circumnavigated the globe. And just before the middle of the sixteenth century, the pilot Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, sailing likewise under Spain, explored the coast of what is now the State of California. A famous but probably apocryphal anecdote reveals the temper of this age when the "cavalry of the sea" was invading unknown waters. While the great Vasco da Gama was crossing the Indian ocean his crew were frozen with terror at the sight of a monstrous wave bearing down upon them, when everywhere else the sea was calm. Whereupon the intrepid commander, though ignorant of such phenomena as submarine earthquakes, quieted his followers with the assertion: "The very waves tremble before us".

Were we concerned with the exploits of the Portuguese in the Far East we might point out that, during the course of the sixteenth century, the caravels of Lisbon reached the Maluccas, China, and Japan, and possibly even Australia. Land expeditions were equally notable. Anselmo de Andrade found his way to Thibet; Bento de Goes spent five years on an overland journey from India to China; Pedro Paes and Jeronimo Lobo vainly essayed to discover the sources of the Nile. With the license granted to poets well might the great Camoens declare to his countrymen: "*E se mais mundo houvera, lá chegara*".<sup>3</sup> "If there had been any more of the world, they would have reached it".

Our immediate interest of course lies not in the creation of the vast empire in the east but with the share which the Portu-

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by Edgar Prestage, *The Portuguese Pioneers* (London, 1933), p. 310.

guese had in the discovery and settlement of the western hemisphere. Though the broad outlines of the story are well known, there still remains a number of problems which baffle the investigator. The first of these is the alleged priority of the Portuguese in the discovery of America. Let it be said at once that the evidence of pre-Columbian voyages by the Portuguese to the New World is both shadowy and fragmentary, and that the majority of historians, steeped in the Columbus tradition regard such a possibility as fantastic. We may glance for a moment at the evidence. Writing in the latter sixteenth century, one Gaspar Fructuoso, in his *Saudades da Terra* affirms categorically that João Vaz de Corte Real, at the command of Affonso V., discovered the Terra Nova dos Bacalhaos, or Newfoundland, and that as a reward from such an enterprize was given in 1474 the captaincy of Angra in the Azores. This account of Fructuoso, written a full century after the event, is rightly regarded with suspicion. But something over ten years ago the Danish scholar Sofus Larsen found reason to believe that as early as 1472 King Christian of Denmark, at the request of Affonso V., sent out an exploring expedition which reached the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Tradition has it that this expedition was accompanied by a Portuguese, João Vaz Corte Real, who apparently served as pilot, and as reward was given a fief in the Azores as noted above. If João Vaz Corte Real really took part in an expedition to the New World in 1472, the well-known voyages of his sons Gaspar and Miguel to the coasts of Greenland and Labrador in 1500 and 1501 would be natural. On a map of Labrador preserved in the Biblioteca Riccardiana of Florence we find a land and bay marked João Vaz which may well refer to our Corte Real and his visit to these remote regions in 1472. We shall not press the point; we doubtless have another mystery of the *mare tenebrosum* which some day may be solved by further research in the archives of Lisbon.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The best introduction to this highly controversial subject of the priority of the Portuguese in the discovery of America will be found in Fidelino de Figueiredo, *Estudos de Historia Americana* (São Paulo, n.d.), chap. II. and Prestage, *op. cit.*, pp. 186 ff.

But this much is certain. Even if none of the intrepid Portuguese pioneers ventured into American waters prior to 1498 they were not without their influence in the great epic of the unfolding of the New World. No one would deny, for instance, their influence on Columbus. One writer has gone so far as to declare that if Columbus the weaver and sailor was born in Genoa, Columbus the discoverer was born in Portugal. Prior to his arrival in Lisbon, presumably in 1474, Columbus though a skilled seaman, had evinced little interest in exploration. But now he suddenly found himself in the geographical capital of Europe, in the midst of the greatest cosmographers and pilots of the age. Many of them had known the great Prince Henry personally and under his orders had faced the nameless terrors with which the superstition of the age had invested the coast of Africa. A little later Columbus married the daughter of Bartholomew Perestrello, the captain-donatary of Porto Santo of the Madeira group, one of the outposts of the Portuguese in the Atlantic. His mother-in-law placed her husband's charts and papers at his disposal and if we are to believe Ferdinand Columbus and Las Casas he was convinced by the study of these documents that lands existed in the western ocean and that it was possible to find them. Time will not permit us to pursue this subject further. We need only point out that it is surely no disparagement of the achievements of the great Genoese to recognize his indebtedness to the geographers and explorers of Portugal.

In the larger perspective of history, it is clear that the most important single event in Lusitanian annals was the discovery of Brazil. According to the conventional account this feat was accomplished on April 22, 1500 by Pedro Alvares Cabral who was on his way to India and who, on the advice of Vasco da Gama, had sailed far to the westward to avoid the calms off the coast of Guinea. Investigations by recent historians have proven pretty conclusively that this version is incorrect. Brazil had really been discovered two years earlier

by one Duarte Pacheco, who with the greatest secrecy had been sent to America by Dom João II., intent on learning something of that portion of the unknown world which fell to him through the papal line of demarcation and the Treaty of Tordesillas. In passing, it may be noted that this policy of secrecy, necessary perhaps to a small country like Portugal, has proven one of the greatest obstacles to a full investigation of the period.<sup>5</sup>

In a lecture delivered at Yale University on May 14, 1908, the Brazilian ambassador to the United States, the eminent writer, Joaquim Nabuco, declared that the greatest achievements of the Portuguese race were Brazil and *Os Lusiados*, or as it is generally known in English *The Lusiads*. We are not concerned this evening with the great epic poem of Camoens. But we may find it profitable to consider briefly some of the ways in which the vigorous and powerful Lusitanian stock took root in the fertile soil of America and in the fulness of time produced a great nation.

Naturally, we shall renounce any attempt to do more than epitomize this evening the four centuries of Brazilian history. Our task is a more modest one. Our interest will be largely restricted to a consideration of those social and ethnic factors which have given Brazil a unique place in the evolution of Ibero-America and have served to set it apart from its Spanish American neighbors. By the same token, we shall try to analyze the modifications undergone in the New World by the original Portuguese stock during its long period of contact with the indigenous populations and the Negro elements imported from Africa.

The first few years of the colony gave little promise of the great developments which were to follow. Intent on exploiting to the full its predominance in India and the Far East, the government of Lisbon accorded scant attention to its trans-

<sup>5</sup> This whole subject of the circumstances under which Brazil was discovered is competently treated by Charles E. Nowell in an article entitled "The Discovery of Brazil—Accidental or Intentional?" in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, August, 1936.

Atlantic possession. It was not until 1530 that the crown took an active interest in its American dependencies. At this time, Brazil was divided into some fifteen hereditary fiefs called captaincies, which were granted to a number of favored persons, chiefly courtiers, who took the name of *donatarios* or donataries. These royal grants present a parallel to the English proprietary colonies, notably Maryland. Finally, in 1549, the administration of Brazil was taken over directly by the crown, which appointed a governor general established at Bahia. Save that the capital was transferred to Rio de Janeiro in the eighteenth century, this latter system remained in vogue with slight modifications until 1808.

The Portuguese possessed certain advantages when they finally embarked upon their great colonial venture in Brazil. As Paine has pointed out in his *History of Colonization* they were the first European peoples since antiquity to establish a colony in the strictest sense of the term, selling what they possessed in the home land and transporting themselves and their families to the new abode. During the course of the fifteenth century they had discovered or rediscovered the Cape Verde Islands, Madeira, and the Azores, and the experience which they gained in these island outposts, particularly in agriculture, they utilized to good advantage in Brazil.

We shall not attempt to rehearse in any detail the story of the Portuguese settlements with their repeated setbacks and eventual successes. As in New England and Virginia, they had to cope with the hostility of the Indians, who repeatedly attacked the donataries. The famous Brazil wood, from which the country took its name, aroused the cupidity of Portugal's rivals, especially the daring corsairs of Normandy and Brittany who, during the first half of the sixteenth century, were a constant menace to the struggling settlements. There were also difficulties of another order.

The marvelous beauty of the tropical setting has become a common place in practically all books on Brazil. In a burst of enthusiasm the historian Southey tells us that "if the terres-

trial paradise exists anywhere it cannot be far from here".<sup>6</sup> Yet the magnificence of the stage on which the drama was enacted seems to dwarf the puny efforts of the first colonists. In truth, the Portuguese pioneer was face to face with a nature far from hospitable to the creations of civilized man. It was one long struggle against domination and absorption. Where the settler to relax his vigilance nature would turn against him and in the picturesque phrase of a Brazilian writer "suffocate him in the magic of her violent and pitiless exuberance".<sup>7</sup> One of Brazil's greatest novelists, Graça Aranha, declared that the history of Portuguese civilization in America has few parallels in the history of man's victory over nature.<sup>8</sup> By and large, the tasks facing the Lusitanian colonists were more arduous than those with which his brethren in Spanish America had to cope. They did not have the advantages enjoyed by the settlers of the Platine basin with its boundless plains, fertile soil, and temperate climate. Unlike the conquerors of Peru and Mexico, who fell heir to rich and old civilizations, the newcomers to Brazil had to lay the foundation as well as erect the superstructure of their new dominion.

If the establishment of royal authority in 1549 laid the foundation for the colony's military and administrative development, it was sugar which constituted the basis of Brazil's future greatness. It soon became the major industry of the colonists and eventually brought them wealth and prosperity. Sugarcane had been imported from Sicily to Portugal by Prince Henry the Navigator and was grown extensively in Madeira and the Azores. Transplanted to America it proved marvelously well adapted to the fertile soil and tropical climate of Brazil.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by F. Contreiras Rodrigues, *Traços da economia social e política do Brasil colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, 1935), p. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Ronald de Carvalho in *A margem da história da República* (Rio de Janeiro, n. d.), p. 223.

<sup>8</sup> *A estética da vida*, quoted by S. Rangel de Castro, *Quelques aspects de la civilisation brésilienne* (Paris, 1930), p. 125.

For its successful cultivation, sugar required large agricultural units; partly on this account, partly because the government was extremely lavish in its grants to the first settlers, veritable *latifundia* were created. Rich captaincies like Bahia and Rio de Janeiro were divided among four or five proprietors. The *engenho*, that is the sugarmill with the adjacent plantation, became the symbol of wealth. The crown was naturally interested in the expansion of the industry and was wont to enable those who constructed sugarmills. One may say that ownership of an *engenho* conferred the same prestige as that of a castle in medieval Europe. In time it even constituted a patent of nobility. *Senhores de engenho* could not be imprisoned for debt; the most that their creditors could do was to seize their crop. Under these conditions the industry thrrove mightily. According to the Jesuit fathers Anchieta and Cardim there were as early as 1583 sixty-six *engenhos* in Bahia and thirty-six in Pernambuco, producing 200,000 *arrobas* or nearly 6,000,000 pounds annually.<sup>9</sup>

We may pause for a moment to consider in somewhat greater detail the character of these Portuguese colonists. With its commitments in the east, Portugal was for many years in no position to furnish its American possessions with any great number of settlers. According to the traditional account the first arrivals were hardly of the stuff of which nations are made. Criminals, Jews, shipwrecked sailors, undesirables of various ilk were unceremoniously dumped on the shores of Brazil or found their way hence. But this picture, though attractive to romantic writers, is in many respects at variance with the facts. The criminals were frequently guilty of what we should call minor offenses such as soothsaying and witchcraft. According to the *Ordenções Manuelinas*, which contained the criminal code of sixteenth century, there were some two hundred offenses which were punished with exile.<sup>10</sup> After reading this formidable list, Baron Homen de Melo, the

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Lannoy and Vander Linden, *Histoire l'expansion coloniale des Peuples Européens. (Portugal et Espagne)*. (Bruxelles, 1907), p. 205.

<sup>10</sup> *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil* (Porto, 1924), III. 42.

eminent geographer of the Brazilian Empire, ironically remarked that one may justly wonder why the Lusitanian kingdom was not entirely depopulated.<sup>11</sup> As for the Jews, the colony profited mightily from their presence. Many of them had been expelled from Spain in 1492 and had taken refuge in Portugal. As the latter country did not establish the Inquisition until 1547 they had over half a century to acclimate themselves in their new homes or to emigrate to Brazil. With their wealth, intelligence, and business acumen, they became an important part in the economic development of the colony. They helped finance the erection of sugarmills and aided in marketing the crop. Most of them were *Cristãos novos*, that is "New Christians" and were at least nominally Catholics.

With the founding of the donatary system in 1530, some of the best blood of Portugal began to find its way into Brazil. Duarte Coelho Pereira, the donatary of Pernambuco, was a good case in point. As a mere youth, he had taken part in some of the most memorable exploits of the Portuguese in the east. For some twenty years he served under such famous viceroys as Da Gama, Almeida, and Albuquerque. He took part in the occupation of the Moluccas, discovered Cochin China, fought Chinese pirates, and negotiated a successful treaty of commerce with the king of Siam. At length, surfeited with military glory he obtained from Dom João III., the "colonizing king", a feudal grant in Brazil and selling all his possessions emigrated with his family to America. Here he erected a sugar factory, waxed in power and influence, and as *senhor de engenho*, became one of the founders of that agrarian aristocracy of which we shall speak presently.<sup>12</sup> Naturally, not all of the colonists were of the stripe of Duarte Coelho. Though many came from the old agrarian families of Portugal, there was an increasing number of artisans, laborers, merchants. But it was the planter aristocracy perma-

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> The exploits of Duarte Coelho are interestingly set forth by Oliveira Lima in *História da Colonização Portuguesa*, III. 301 ff.

nently attached to the soil as in tidewater Virginia, which formed the backbone of the colony.

Across the centuries it is a bit difficult to seize on the personality of a typical Portuguese colonist. His figure is not as clearly etched as in the case of the intensely individualistic Spaniard. The brilliant young sociologist, Professor Gilberto Freyre, points out that in some respects he resembles the Englishman; in others the Spaniard. He is a Spaniard without his militant orthodoxy; an Englishman without his hard Puritan contours. He is rarely handicapped by inflexible principles. Perhaps his most notable characteristics are a certain plasticity and power of adaptation which set him off from other Europeans of his time.<sup>13</sup>

In fact, a good case may be made for the contention that the Portuguese proved the most successful and adaptable of all the European settlers in the tropics. In his physical and moral background he partook of both Europe and Africa. He belonged to a nation which was educated in its youth, as one writer puts it, by Moors and Arabs.<sup>14</sup> The typical Portuguese colonist was sober, frugal, not unwilling to contract alliances with darker races, efficient as a laborer, daring, and persistent. Above all he possessed a marvelous ability to acclimate himself in regions where most Europeans from the temperate zones have failed. It is not too much to say that the Portuguese established the first modern society in the tropics which developed national characteristics and qualities of permanency.

With all their excellent qualities as colonizers, the Portuguese could never have laid the foundations of a great overseas dominion through their unaided efforts. It is only necessary to recall that the population of the Lusitanian kingdom was barely a million at the beginning of the reign of King Emmanuel the Fortunate.<sup>15</sup> Under these conditions any large

<sup>13</sup> *Casa Grande & Senzala*, p. 197. This is the best study of the social evolution of colonial Brazil which has yet appeared.

<sup>14</sup> Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>15</sup> Fidelino de Figueiredo, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

scale emigration to Brazil was out of the question. Yet the need of man power was imperative if the prevailing type of agriculture was to be carried on and Portugal's immense American possession be brought under effective control. Where was this man power to be recruited?

The answer was apparently at hand: the necessary labor was to be supplied by the seemingly inexhaustible indigenous population. As the Indians would not labor voluntarily, it was necessary to use compulsion. At first, the colonists reduced to slavery those Indians captured in "just wars". But, as the supply from this source began to diminish, the settlers resorted to veritable *razzias* or slave raids. Against these attacks the Indians struggled with all the desperation of the American savage. According to Southey,<sup>16</sup> Indians captured in inter-tribal wars preferred to be eaten by members of their own race rather than pass under the slavery of the whites.

As laborers the Indians proved unsatisfactory. Primitive creatures of the forest they were ill-adapted to the arduous labor required by tropical agriculture. Mortality was frightful. Many succumbed to diseases imported from Europe or died from melancholia. Others committed suicide. The only types of work for which they showed any aptitude were those to which they had been accustomed before the advent of the white man. They proved to be excellent guides, were adept at paddling canoes, and on occasion made satisfactory soldiers.<sup>17</sup>

The Indians were not without their protectors. As early as the middle of the sixteenth century, Jesuit missionaries reached Brazil and at once took upon themselves the task of raising the moral level of the colonists and safeguarding the Indians. Time will permit only the briefest mention of these "black robes of Portugal" whose activities bulk so large in the colonial history of Brazil. As in Spanish America they endeavored to group the Indians into missions, here called

<sup>16</sup> *History of Brasil* (London, 1822), I. 399.

<sup>17</sup> João Pandiá Calogerás, *Formação Histórico do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), p. 44.

*aldeas*, where they were taught manual arts and the rudiments of Christianity. The Jesuits exerted all of their efforts to protect their wards from the slave raids of the colonists and as a result aroused their bitter enmity. Yet the Jesuits rendered Brazil signal services. In their missionary zeal they penetrated into the most remote areas of the colony, even to the extent of establishing a chain of missions in the Amazon valley, and like Fathers Kino and Salvatierra in North America may be regarded as pioneers of civilization and eventual settlement. The colonists themselves, for all the hostility they visited upon the Jesuits, were indebted to them. On occasion, they supplied the Portuguese with numerous auxiliary troops who fought faithfully at their side, notably in the war against the Dutch which we shall take up presently. Finally, it is not too much to say that, without the intervention of the Jesuits, the Indian population of Brazil would practically have disappeared.

When the Indian labor revealed itself as both inefficient and inadequate the settlers turned to the Negro. What could be more natural or logical than to have recourse to the teeming populations of Africa, the more so as some of the most densely settled areas adjacent to the coast were already in Portuguese hands? The first slaves reached Brazil at least as early as 1532. From relatively small beginnings, the slave trade assumed greater and greater proportions until at the end of the colonial period the negro population was equal to the white. The traffic was cruel and brutal beyond belief. The great Brazilian orator, Ruy Barbosa, once declared that if Dante had been a Brazilian he would have placed the lowest circle of Hell in the hold of a slave ship.

While the horrors of slave trade have come in for universal condemnation, the necessity of Negro slavery in Brazil has generally been recognized. The Portuguese historian, Oliveira Martins, asks the rhetorical question "Was it a crime to enslave the Negro and transport him to America?" and proceeds to answer in the negative.<sup>18</sup> To be sure a number of

<sup>18</sup> *O Brasil e as colônias Portuguezas* (Porto, 1904), p. 52.

other writers have taken a different view. Varnhagen, the greatest Brazilian authority on the colonial period, sharply criticizes the type of colonization based on slavery and the latifundia system and regrets that the Portuguese did not follow a policy of small allotments to the colonists.

If the soil of Brazil had been divided into small parcels, colonization would have taken on a much greater extension and Brazil today might well have a much larger population than the United States.<sup>19</sup>

Varnhagen's view is hardly tenable. One may well ask where was the population to come from? And how could small land-owners cope with the handicaps of the tropics, with its insects, floods, drouths, and the like? If one faces the subject realistically he has to admit that, under the conditions then existing, large estates run by Negro labor alone made possible the settlement of Brazil in the sixteenth century.

The lot of the slave was much less intolerable than philanthropists would have us believe. In most instances, he was happier than he had been in Africa. He rapidly adapted himself to his new environment and it was soon clear that he possessed capabilities of the highest value to Brazil. His fine physique and pigmentation enabled him to work happily under a boiling sun. He showed himself adept in pastoral pursuits, and was partially responsible for the growth of the cattle industry in the *sertão*, or back country. His skill in handling metals, which he had learned from his African forebears, was later to be revealed in every smithy throughout the immense mining region of the interior. It is not too much, perhaps, to say that slavery was the tribute paid by the Negro race for its incorporation into the national life of Brazil.

The plantation system of agriculture with its vast sugar estates worked by slave labor, had by the end of the sixteenth century become the chief feature of the economic structure of the colony. The *Casa Grande* or "Great House" in which the owner led a patriarchial and in many respects a self-sufficient existence, came to symbolize not only an economic

<sup>19</sup> *História geral do Brasil*, 3rd ed. I. cap. XIV.

but a social and political system. As Sr. Freyre has pointed out at length, the "Great House" served not only as the residence of the plantation owner, but fortress, school, office, guest-house, bank, and even harem. Around the *senhor de engenho* and the Casa Grande gradually evolved one of the most stable forms of life in Hispanic America.

It was inevitable that the growing prosperity should be reflected in the opulence of the life led on the great plantations, and by a certain weakening of the tough-fibered stock of the colonists. This appears in their hospitality which passed all bounds in its lavishness. The Jesuit Father Cardim, writing in 1583, declares that one of the things which most amazed him was the ease with which the *senhores de engenho* entertained their guests. At any hour of the day or night, in the briefest possible time they were regaled with all varieties of meats, chickens, turkeys, sucking-pigs, kids, and other succulent things.<sup>20</sup> And as for the women, according to the same authority

they arrayed themselves with such beautiful and gorgeous raiment that they refused to content themselves with taffetas, chamblets, velvets, and other silks, but used only the finest cloth and the richest brocades, and so many were the jewels which they wore that they appeared to have fallen in a shower on their heads and throats.<sup>21</sup>

And the good father somewhat ingeniously adds "Such were the delights of the place that this did not seem a parcel of this earth but a corner of the terrestrial paradise."<sup>22</sup> With their horses valued at two and three hundred *cruzados*, their Lucullian banquets which lasted various days, their excellent cellars, and their mountings, the planters of Pernambuco—prior to the Dutch invasion—were the most splendid subjects of the king of Portugal in the entire monarchy. Such was their wealth, entirely derived from sugar, that according to

<sup>20</sup> Quoted by Pedro Calmon, *Espirito da Sociedade Colonial* (São Paulo, 1935), p. 38.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> F. J. Oliveira Vianna, *Populações meridionaes do Brasil* (São Paulo, 1920) p. 8.

Gabriel Soares—one of our best authorities—there were in Pernambuco in 1587 more than a hundred men who possessed incomes from a thousand to five thousand *cruzados*, and some who had eight to ten thousand.<sup>23</sup>

As we enter upon the seventeenth century, the ostentation and opulence we have just noted in the Casa Grands finds its parallel in the coast cities, especially Pernambuco and Bahia. Both in rural and urban life the visible symbol of wealth was the ownership of a large number of slaves. When the *senhor de engenho*, or the rich merchant, went abroad he was accompanied by a great retinue, which frequently constituted a bodyguard somewhat like the Landsknecht of the medieval baron. The owners were apt to garb their retainers in strident colors; the more wealthy went so far as to possess a Negro band or orchestra which performed at festivals or, lent to the clergy, took part in religious processions.<sup>24</sup>

The existence of this large servile class naturally brought all manual labor into disrepute and made for ease, luxury, and sloth on the part of the owners. The effects of the tropical climate of course also counted for much. During the eighteenth century, when Bahia was the metropolis of northern Brazil, the city was famous for its large number of Negroes—twenty to each white—the magnificence of its churches, and the dissolute life of its inhabitants. The Frenchman Le Gentil de la Barbinais, who visited Brazil in 1717, wrote of the *Bahianos*:

... ils dépensent le revenue d'une année en courses de Taureaux, en comédies, en Sermons, en ornement d'Eglise et ils meurent de faim le reste de l'année. Si on ôtait aux Portugais leurs saints et leurs maîtresses, ils deviendroient riches.<sup>25</sup>

Yet a more careful scrutiny of the sources will show that these instances of almost oriental luxury, the stock in trade of many writers on colonial Brazil, are by no means typical of conditions as a whole; rather were they confined to a few

<sup>23</sup> Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted by Freyre, *op. cit.*, p. 484 n.

privileged families of Pernambuco and Bahia. It is quite true that the owners of the Casas Grandes dispensed a lavish hospitality, but they were always in debt. And the ostentation of the wealthy city dwellers was frequently at the expense of what we would regard as the necessities or even the decencies of life. The most convincing proof that the Portuguese stock had lost little of its vigor is seen in the part which they played in repelling the Dutch in the seventeenth century.

Before we leave the sixteenth century one important topic yet remains to be discussed—the emergence of the Mestizo and the Mulatto. It has already been pointed out that the Portuguese had to an unusual degree what we may call the quality of plasticity both in relation to their environment and in their attitude toward other peoples. And when we recall that among the early settlers white women were greatly in the minority it is not at all surprising that crossings with the Indians took place. The early chroniclers agree that the native women were not unattractive. Lopes de Souza, who accompanied the expedition of 1530, wrote in his diary that "the women of the Tupinhambas were white and comely and had no reason to envy the women of Lisbon".<sup>26</sup>

The result of this racial crossing was known as the Mestizo,<sup>27</sup> or as he is more commonly called in Brazil the *Mameluco* or *Caboclo*. His importance in the colonial period was all important and his contributions to the formation of the Brazilian race can hardly be exaggerated. Almost from his first appearance he may be looked upon as the champion of future nationality. Without his assistance, the conquest and eventual settlement of the vast expanse of Brazil would have been impossible. The pride in his paternal ancestry made him the implacable enemy of his mother's people, from whom he inherited his physical traits, as well as his warlike instincts. Many anthropologists regard him as the first true Brazilian.

<sup>26</sup> Quoted by João Ribeiro, *História do Brasil*, 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro, 1912), p. 116.

<sup>27</sup> The Brazilians sometime use the term Mestizo in referring to the crossing of the Portuguese and the Negro.

He had none of the nostalgia of the Portuguese and no interest in the land of his paternal ancestors. Nor was he the simple, untamable child of the forest as were his forebears on his mother's side. An acute contemporary Brazilian sociologist, Professor Pedro Calmon, declares that the fusion of the Indians with the whites

was the proper anthropological solution of the colonial problem. The Portuguese—with rare exceptions—did not attempt to isolate themselves as an elite of whites. By adopting a contrary policy they ennobled, through racial crossings, the races which they dominated and thus gave to Brazil a Brazilian population.<sup>28</sup>

The place which the *Mamelucos* had in the historical evolution was then very great. They constituted the most effective protection of the sugar plantations against Indian attack. They were in the forefront in the repulse of French corsairs and Dutch invaders. And finally, from their ranks were recruited in large part the heroic pioneers who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries helped to push back the frontier of Portuguese America almost to the slopes of the Andes.

Aside from the Indian, the other non-European element in the population of Brazil was, as we have seen, the Negro. It is obviously out of the question to discuss in this brief address the multiple social problems growing out of the importation of Africans to Brazil. That they have been an extremely important factor in the racial evolution of the country admits of course of no doubt. It has been variously estimated that from 1530 to 1850 between three and six million slaves were imported into Brazil; during long periods of the colonial epoch the average rose to thirty or forty thousand a year. For reasons, which have already been set forth in our account of the Indian, the Portuguese evidenced no repugnance in con-

<sup>28</sup> One of our ablest students in race relations in Brazil has pointed out that colonial Brazil was virtually the only region in all of America where the European element never found itself in a situation of absolute and undisputed control. Rüdiger Bilden, "Race Relations in Latin America with special reference to the development of indigenous cultures", Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, 1911.

tracting relations with the Negro women, although intermarriage was confined to the lower classes. The result, of course, was an increasing Mulatto population. Brazilian anthropologists themselves are not agreed as to the capacities of the Mulattoes or to the contributions they have made to Brazilian life. During the colonial period, they more or less remained on the margin of economic life and led an indolent, and as far as was in their power, a care-free existence. The prudent Jesuit Antonil, whose *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil*<sup>29</sup> is one of our best surveys of Brazil at the beginning of the eighteenth century, tells us that in his day the proverb was current: "Brazil is a hell for the Negro, a purgatory for the white, and a paradise for the Mulatto".<sup>30</sup>

But later, under the empire and republic we find that in almost every sphere of public life—the church, politics, the various professions, literature—Mulattoes achieved distinction. It may be recalled that Brazil's greatest lyric poet, Gonçalves Dias, was a Mulatto. In one of the most penetrating studies which has yet appeared, Professor Gilberto Freyre points out that those localities in which the Negro element has been marked have been most fecund in great men.<sup>31</sup> Under the empire, Bahia was the Virginia of Brazil, the mother of presidents of the council and ministers of state.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the racial elements from which the spirit of Brazilian nationality was to emerge were well defined: the Portuguese, intelligent and enterprising; the Negro, the hewer of wood and the drawer of water; the Indian, proud, indolent, but tenacious of his rights. The Mestizo and the Mulatto were to play their great rôle a little later; they were to supply the cement, so to speak, with which the national structure was to be solidified.

The event which did more than aught else to fuse these

<sup>29</sup> First published, Lisbon, 1717.

<sup>30</sup> André João Antonil, *Cultura e Opulencia do Brazil por suas Drogas e Minas, com um Estudio Bio-bibliographico por Affonso de E. Taunay* (São Paulo, 1923), p. 92.

<sup>31</sup> *Sobrados e Mucambos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1936), chap. VII.

disparate elements into a nationally conscious people was the conflict with the Dutch. Unfortunately we may only note in passing the gravest crisis in the entire period of the colony, a crisis comparable to the French and Indian War in our own history. It was nothing less than the attempt of the powerful Dutch West India Company, characterized by Varnhagen as "a body of pirates enjoying the sanction and support of the state" to wrest from the Portuguese the most fertile and valuable portion of Brazil. For a time success attended their efforts; from 1630 to 1654, the Dutch were in possession of the rich captaincy of Pernambuco and adjacent territory. As governor, the company appointed one of the ablest and most cultivated men in The Netherlands, Count Maurice of Nassau-Siegen, a prince of the House of Orange and a grandson of William the Silent.

Maurice had in him the stuff of an eminent colonial administrator and in many ways he anticipated the policies of some of the great British pro-consuls of the nineteenth century, such men as Sir Stamford Raffles or Lord Cromer. But the efforts of this statesman to lay an enduring foundation of Dutch dominion in the new world was wrecked by the policy of greed and gain of the company, intent only on the payment of high dividends. Maurice was forced to resign in 1644. A wave of patriotic fervor presently swept over Brazil and the colonists determined to try conclusions with the Dutch. In the ensuing conflict all elements of the population—Portuguese, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, Mestizos—fought side by side in their determination to expel the foreigner who was not only an alien in race, but what was fully as important, a heretic in religion. In this epic struggle, the colonials received virtually no assistance from the metropolis, and when victory finally came it was theirs, and theirs alone. In these critical years the spirit of nationality was born. The colonials began to think of themselves, not as Portuguese but as Brazilians. A contemporary Brazilian essayist, Araujo Jorge, has aptly summed up the most important result of the struggle:

It was the necessity of defending the land against the pretensions of foreigners which awoke among our ancestors the instinct of ownership and with this instinct the sentiment of patriotism.<sup>32</sup>

As we enter upon the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the emphasis of our survey shifts from the north to the south and from the coast to the interior. A certain dualism in the social evolution of colonial Brazil becomes more and more apparent. The north, as we have seen, had most of the characteristics of a plantation colony dominated by a slave-holding aristocracy. Here was the official Brazil, the Brazil of the viceroys, the Brazil of the opulent planters and sugar magnates. For many decades the settlements hugged the coast line. But in the south, with São Paulo as its nucleus, gradually grew up another Brazil, less dependent upon Portugal, more spontaneous, more democratic, than the north. We may find here a certain parallel to the contrasted developments of our South Atlantic colonies and New England.

The first expeditions into the mysterious and dread interior were, as has been noted, in pursuit of Indian slaves. But an even more impelling motive, particularly after the Negro had begun to supplant the Indian, was the conquest of precious metals and stones. While these expeditions were organized in various parts of Brazil it was the captaincy of São Paulo which soon gained the ascendancy. The inhabitants of this favored region, whose semi-tropical climate was not dissimilar to that of California, were known as Paulistas. They were in considerable part Mestizos, or Mamelucos. They gained fame as the hardiest, most tough-fibred and most resili ent of all the Brazilians. To them was due in large part that great movement of western expansion which eventually brought under Portuguese control four-sevenths of the continent. The late Dr. Oliveira Lima, one of Brazil's most eminent historians, was wont to say that if the recovery of Per-

<sup>32</sup> A. G. Araujo Jorge, *O Brasil e o ciclo de navegação* (Rio de Janeiro, 1917), quoted in *História da Colonização Portugueza*, III. v.

nambuco from the Dutch might be likened to the Illiad, the exploits of the Paulistas constituted a kind of terrestrial Odyssey.<sup>33</sup>

The name given to these expeditions was *bandeiras* (literally a standard) and the members *bandeirantes*.<sup>34</sup> The *bandeirantes* represent a unique phenomenon in the history of America. As in the caravans of the Sahara the prime virtues of the *bandeirantes* were an almost fatalistic resignation coupled with a superb daring and courage which remind us of the Spanish conquistadores. The *bandeiras* themselves partook of the hazardous nature of the voyages of discovery of the sixteenth century. Those who set out never knew if they would return—which in many cases turned out indeed to be the case. The provisions which they carried sufficed for only the first stage of their journey. With their families and domestic animals they settled down long enough to raise the necessary crops, after which they would move on another lap. In the fullest sense they were both explorers and pioneers.

By all odds the most important and spectacular of the *bandeiras* was that of Fernando Dias Paes Leme. To him more than any one else was due our first authentic knowledge of the vast interior plateau which because of its mineral wealth is to this day known as *Minas Geraes* or "General Mines". Paes Leme was a wealthy Paulista, a veteran in years but a youth in spirit, who had become inured to hardships and privations in many a *bandeira* in quest of Indian slaves. In 1672, at the age of eighty, according to Southey, he determined at his own expense and on his own initiative to equip a great expedition in search of precious metals and jewels. The governor general of Bahia conferred upon him the title and prerogatives of *Capitão-Mor* with the commission "to seek out and discover emerald mines". In the following year, 1673, he advanced at the head of a large company into the wilder-

<sup>33</sup> *Formation historique de la Nationalité brésilienne* (Paris, 1911), p. 67.

<sup>34</sup> The greatest authority on the *bandeiras*, and for that matter on all topics dealing with the history of São Paulo is Dr. Affonso de E. Taunay. Cf. especially his *Historia Geral das Bandeiras* of which seven volumes have already appeared.

ness; from time to time, crops were planted, whose yield was to furnish subsistence on the return journey. At length after enduring terrific hardships, with the loss of many of its members, the expedition reached the wild tangle of mountains lying between the headwaters of the Rio Doce and the Rio São Francisco. Here he made his headquarters for four long years.

Recking little of the sufferings and privations among his companions, obsessed with the determination not to return unless laden with emeralds, the veteran chief penetrated far into regions even to this day but little known. Legend had it that in this remote wilderness precious stones were to be found in great heaps. Nothing daunted the daring explorer. Rebellion among his followers he put down with an iron hand; his own son as one of the leading conspirators was executed. At length his persistent efforts were rewarded. On the shores of a mysterious lake, whose poisonous miasmas decimated the ranks of his followers, he discovered the coveted emeralds. The location was christened Vapabussú or "Great Lake", a name soon changed into Lagoa Encantada, as all subsequent efforts to discover it proved fruitless. Though his goal was attained, Paes Leme was fated never to profit from his discoveries. Worn out with fatigue and hardships, he died on the shores of the Rio das Velhas. He was at least spared the deception of learning that the stones, in whose search he had laid down his life, were but the semiprecious though beautiful tourmalines.

The elusive gold was at length discovered about 1680 in what is now the state of Minas Geraes. The news aroused the wildest excitement and most extravagant hopes; a great stampede or gold rush took place which anticipated in many respects the days of '49 in California. In vain did the government take steps to check the stream of humanity which began to pour into the promised land. A kind of intoxication or vertigo took possession of everyone; plantations were abandoned; crews in the harbors left their ships; even government

officials, infected with the contagion, neglected their duties. So great was the exodus from Portugal that one distracted official wrote that if immediate steps were not taken "the king would be deprived of all his vassals". The discovery of diamonds at about the same time added fuel to the fire.

It is a temptation to dwell too long on this colorful drama enacted in the remote interior of Brazil in the latter seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But we are concerned only with the broader implications of this shifting of the axis of Brazilian life from the coast to the interior. Although it was in some respects a transitory phenomenon—the gold and diamond washings were all but exhausted before 1800—many of the effects were permanent. The achievements of the *bandeiras* more than doubled the area of Brazil. When definite boundaries were established between Portuguese and Spanish America in 1750 and 1777, the old demarcation line of the Treaty of Tordesillas was completely ignored and the Portuguese negotiators secured full recognition of their claims which they based on the doctrine of *uti possidetis*.

It is to be noted at once that the credit for this accomplishment, except perhaps in its initial stages, belongs to the Brazilians rather than to the Portuguese. This Brazilian western movement owed almost nothing to the Lisbon authorities. Like our overland expeditions it was the work of individuals working in voluntary association. And the bulk of these individuals were Brazilian rather than Portuguese in the sense that our own frontiersmen in the latter days of the colony were Americans rather than Englishmen. The population of the great interior captaincy of Minas Geraes like the population of our own trans-Allegheny prior to the revolution would hardly be described as European. The *bandeirantes* represented the fusion of the racial stocks of both the old and new world. On the other hand, the language, the institutions, the traditions which they carried to the further confines of Brazil were in great measure those of Portugal. In this larger sense

the exploration and acquisition of the great Brazilian interior belongs to the epic of Portugal in America.<sup>35</sup>

Somewhat later in the eighteenth century the *bandeiras* had as their successors another type of expedition, owing entirely to the initiative of the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon. The reference is to the various scientific missions despatched to Brazil. The number and significance of these missions are all too little known to the investigator. The first to reveal the great importance of this movement was the Portuguese scholar, Souza Viterbo, who published in 1893-1895 a series of articles on the subject in the *Revista Militer* of Lisbon. On the basis of a large number of hitherto unused documents, Sr. Souza relates the activities in Colonial Brazil of no less than one hundred and sixty-four engineers, cartographers, and naturalists, the majority of whom were members of the army and navy.<sup>36</sup>

It is regrettable that the scope of this address will not permit further and more detailed discussion of the contributions of Portugal in the intellectual fields during this period. And were we to expand our subject to include the topic of "Brazil in Portugal" we should find many evidences of the influence

<sup>35</sup> The points of view set forth in the preceding paragraphs reflect the views of the foremost Brazilian authorities on the *bandeiras*—the historians Affonso de E. Taunay, Capistrano de Abreu, and the geographer Basilio de Magalhães. In recent years, however, discoveries in the archives of Lisbon would seem to indicate that, both in their inception and execution, *bandeiras* owed much more to Portugal than is generally conceded in Brazil. An inspection of the *mácos* or *legajos* of papers in the Archivo Historico Colonial furnishes warrant for the belief that many of the most important of these expeditions into the remote interior were planned and directed from Lisbon rather than from Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo. This does not mean of course that the planning of the *bandeiras* in Portugal was incompatible with a large degree of freedom of movement on the part of the individual members who alone were familiar with local conditions. The investigations now being carried on in Lisbon by Mr. Manoel Cardozo should shed much light on this subject.

<sup>36</sup> That the history of these numerous scientific missions has been rescued from almost complete oblivion is owing in large part to the efforts of Dr. Fidelino de Figueiredo, who devotes a whole section of his *Estudos de Historia Americana* to this subject (pp. 92-133).

which the colony exerted on the political and intellectual evolution of the metropolis. The two most famous cases in point are the careers of the statesman and diplomat Alejandre de Gusmão (1695-1753), and of his brother Bartholomeu de Gusmão (1674-1724), a scholarly Jesuit, regarded by many as the founder of the science of aeronautics. Both were born in Santos, Brazil, but spent the bulk of their lives in Portugal.<sup>27</sup>

As the eighteenth century drew towards its end, there were increasing evidences that the hold of Portugal on Brazil was weakening. In population and wealth, the colony had overtaken the metropolis. The spirit of nationality, engendered by the war against the Dutch and reënforced by the work of the *bandeiras* was especially strong in the great captaincies of São Paulo and Minas Geraes in the South. The vitality of Portugal at this time was at a low ebb and the viceroys sent over by the Lisbon authorities were in the main weak and inefficient. It is customary in this connection to speak of Portugal's salutary neglect of Brazil—salutary in the sense that the Brazilians enjoyed a freedom to work out their own salvation not found elsewhere in Ibero-America. The ground was thus prepared for almost any degree of political assertion. For a moment, it seemed that the Brazilians, taking their cue from our own revolution, might emulate their brethren of the north and declare their independence. To this end, plans were prepared by a body of young idealists of Minas Geraes, including a number of students and poets, to drive the Portuguese from Brazil. Only one episode of this conspiracy need detain us. One of the initiates, José Joaquim da Maia, was a student of the University of Montpellier in Southern France. On November 26, 1786, he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, then our minister in Paris, asking for an appointment. The request was granted and the rendezvous took place in the old Roman amphitheater at Nîmes. A strange and arresting scene this, in which the young and ardent Brazilian laid bare to the diplomatic but sympathetic citizen of the newly estab-

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Affonso de E. Taunay, *Bartholomeu de Gusmão e a sua prioridade aeronáutica* (São Paulo, 1935).

lished United States the details of this scheme to throw off the Portuguese yoke. Jefferson pointed out to his young friend that while his government would necessarily remain neutral it was possible that individual North Americans might volunteer to participate in the coming revolution. As a matter of fact, the whole conspiracy was presently discovered by the Portuguese authorities at Rio de Janeiro and put down with needless severity.

But independence when it did come was consummated in a manner quite unprecedented in the history of colonization. In consequence of Napoleon's determination to bring the entire Iberian peninsula within the sweep of his far-flung empire, the Portuguese Prince Regent, Dom João, determined to emigrate, bag and baggage to his great trans-Atlantic dominion. This was accomplished in 1808 and we have the relationship of metropolis and colony completely reversed; it was Rio de Janeiro and not Lisbon which presently became the capital of the Lusitanian kingdom. With the court and the whole machinery of administration installed in Brazil the strands linking colony and motherland became more and more tenuous. It was only a step to complete separation. In 1821, Dom João returned to Portugal leaving his son Dom Pedro as regent. But the Brazilians, having tasted the fruits of liberty, refused to be governed again by Lisbon and on the following year proclaimed their complete independence under their former regent who now became Emperor Dom Pedro I. Self-determination, to use a phrase much in vogue, is a natural law that operates inevitably when subject people become as competent as their rulers. The great merit of the first ruler of independent Brazil was to complete the separation from Portugal without bloodshed or internal commotion. It was not merely the weakness of Portugal and the skill of Dom Pedro I. which made the transition such an easy one. The colony as we have already seen was ready for independence, and when it detached itself from the trunk as a ripe fruit falls from the tree it did not cease to grow and prosper.

Many factors entered into this growth and prosperity, but

only one will be stressed; the part played by the members of the Braganza dynasty. A good case can be made for the assertion that we have in these able rulers the most noteworthy gift which Portugal gave to America. And, in truth, history offers us few more amazing occurrences than the acclimation in the western hemisphere for the better part of a century of one of the oldest dynasties of Europe. Of Dom Pedro I., whose reign came to an end in 1831, we have already spoken. It was under his son Dom Pedro II., who ruled from 1840 to 1889, that Brazil grew to be one of the greatest powers in South America.

Time will permit only the briefest reference to the fascinating character of this monarch who has not inaptly been styled Dom Pedro the Magnanimous.<sup>38</sup> He was indeed one of the most remarkable men produced by the Portuguese race. Through the scion of a reigning house whose origin goes back to 1640 he was the able ruler of one of the most liberal and democratic governments of the nineteenth century. Not without reason did Bartolomé Mitre, the president of Argentina, characterize the empire under Dom Pedro as the crowned democracy of America. Through his deep interest in arts and letters and his rare competency in statescraft he exemplified Plato's ideal of a philosopher become king. For fifty years he never missed a session of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute unless prevented by illness or absence from the capital. And whether he was encouraging Agassiz's studies in the Amazon basin, or climbing the five flights to Victor Hugo's Paris apartment, or corresponding with Pasteur on the eradication of tropical diseases, or whimsically treating as a fellow-monarch the pathetic "Emperor" Norton in San Francisco on his visit to the United States in 1876, he was ever the most kindly and human of men. Victor Hugo was well inspired when he dubbed him the "Grandson of Marcus Aurelius".

Of the great achievements for which the Brazilian branch

<sup>38</sup> Such is the title of the forthcoming biography by Dr. Mary W. Williams.

of the Braganza dynasty may properly claim credit a large share belongs to Dom Pedro II. The first of these was the maintenance of Brazilian unity. It is truly an astounding thing that this vast, amorphous, thinly-populated state, with rudimentary means of communication, and with marked regional differences, particularly between the north and the south, did not follow the example of its Spanish American neighbors and split up into a number of independent and perhaps hostile nations. There are a number of reasons for this phenomenon, but certainly one of the chief was the cohesive force supplied by the monarchy, the living symbol of the unity and greatness of Brazil. The second of these achievements was the maintenance of almost unbroken peace over the span of half a century. The third was the abolition of slavery, gradually and without battle. But perhaps the greatest service rendered by the last of the Braganzas was to aid the Brazilian people in tiding over that most arduous period of transition between colony and republic by affording them decade after decade, within the framework of a liberal constitutional monarchy, an indispensable apprenticeship in the most difficult of arts, that of self-government.

Our address has run far beyond its appointed time. There are a number of topics, particularly the rich contributions which the Portuguese have made to the economic development of certain sections of the United States, notably southern New England and central California, which unhappily must be omitted. And in the case of Brazil we have confined ourselves almost entirely to the colonial period. We have thus excluded from our survey the enormous transformations wrought by the advent of over a million European immigrants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. We have also passed over in complete silence the many respects in which culturally Brazil is beholden to the neo-Latin nations of Europe, other than Portugal.

In recent years we have heard the term melting pot applied to the problem of assimilation of immigrants here in the

United States. The term is even more applicable to Brazil; more applicable in fact than to any other country of America. For in a broad though very real sense Brazil is the ethnic and cultural heir to three continents—America, Europe, Africa. What does the future hold in store? A most difficult question, this. Anthropologists are by no means at one as to the character of the future Brazilian race. But this much seems reasonably certain. However far the process of amalgamation and assimilation may go the predominant element of the population will be Caucasion. Such a consummation seems assured by the influx of European immigrants and the relative high mortality in the Negro section of the population. At the same time a variety of factors, environmental, ethnic, and cultural will give the Brazilian a national physiognomy quite his own. In fact the process is already clearly discernible. If the new world is ever destined to produce a *raza cósmica*, as was so insistently set forth by the Mexican philosopher, José Vasconcelos, this race may well find its habitat in Brazil.

Yet in the midst of these interesting conjectures and assumptions it must never be forgotten that the mother of Brazil was Portugal and that for an incalculable time Lusitanian influence will be deep and abiding. The recognition of this indebtedness has been well put by one of the ablest of living Brazilian scholars, Dr. Afranio Peixoto, at the inauguration of the Portuguese-Brazilian Institute of Higher Culture in Lisbon on May 18, 1935.

"The independence of Brazil," declared Dr. Peixoto, followed the logic of history. Nations attain to their majority just as do individuals. The son grows up, comes of age, establishes his own household, commits extravagances, but not for this does he lose affection for his parents. Such is our relation to you. We are proud of our Portuguese origin; your blood flows through our veins; your history serves as our inspiration. The greatness of your past assures the certainty of our future.<sup>39</sup>

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

<sup>39</sup> *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), June 9, 1935.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias.* By DR. ERNESTO SCHÄFER.  
(Sevilla: Imp. M. Carmona, 1935. Pp. xv, 434.)

Dr. Schäfer, author of the excellent *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert* (Guterslok, 1902), has performed another great service for students of Spanish history in his *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias*; which is the first modern scientific study of this great colonial agency of the Spanish crown. It was written in German, translated into Spanish by the author, and published under the auspices of the Centro de Estudios de Historia de América of the University of Seville. The volume has for sub-title "Its history, organization, and administrative labor to the end of the rule of the House of Austria", which indicates the character and scope of the work. The emphasis lies on the organization of the council owing to the materials available for the study. An examination of the bibliography illustrates the dearth of published works on the subject of the Council of the Indies, while the footnotes reveal the abundance of manuscript sources relating to the institution. Naturally, the bulk of the documents were found in the Archivo General de las Indias, although considerable data were secured in the Archives at Simancas. Through years of labor, Dr. Schäfer has examined his wealth of material and assembled a most complete account of the council. It is noted that the text is derived largely from a study and analysis of the ordinances issued by the crown and the consultas made by the council itself to the crown. Records of the methods of procedure seem to be lacking for the most part, so that the account of the actual functioning of the institution is necessarily very brief. The relationship between the council and crown is dealt with quite adequately, and the matter of personnel receives the fullest treatment. It does not appear that the council kept formal minutes of its meetings, nor is there a well defined separate archive. Thus it is that in the Archivo General de las Indias the documents used consist of the register books of the council, the consultas, and numerous other documents to be found in the sections of Indiferente General, Contaduría General, and Casa de la Contra-

tación. In Simancas, the principal items used were titles of salaried officials and papers from the section of *Quitaciones*.

An introductory chapter sketches the history of the first years of Spanish colonization of America. This is followed by one dealing with the Casa de Contratación as the sole executive agency for the administration of the Indies. The discussion of the council is affected in four chapters covering the region of Charles V, that of Philip II, the first half of the seventeenth century and the last half of that century up to the end of the rule of the House of Austria. Each of these chapters treats the council with meticulous care from every angle which is revealed in the documentation.

The appendices give the names and terms of service of the members and other officers of the Council of the Indies and of the Casa de la Contratación from their establishment to 1700. There is also a satisfactory index. It is to be hoped that Dr. Schäfer will soon publish his second volume continuing the survey of the Council of the Indies to the close of the Spanish colonial period.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

*Ensayo Histórico sobre el Derecho Constitucional de Nicaragua.* By EMILIO ALVAREZ. (Managua: Tipografía "La Prensa", 1936. Pp. 410.)

Dr. Alvarez, the author of the *Ensayo Histórico sobre el Derecho Constitucional de Nicaragua*, was a member of the supreme court of that country and a professor in the law faculty of Granada for many years. His volume, while intended primarily as a textbook, is useful in tracing the course of constitution making in Nicaragua. An introductory chapter deals with the economic situation and geography. The following ten chapters are devoted to a brief historical sketch of Nicaragua from precolonial times to the present, with special attention to the Spanish system of colonization in its relation to that province.

A study of the various constitutions which have been in force, with particular reference to constitutional guarantees, is made. There is also a comparison of the constitution of 1905 with the present one of 1911, together with an account of the recent attempts at constitutional reform which were undertaken for the purpose of adjusting the diffi-

culties of the political parties after the revolutionary movements of 1925 and 1926. The dispute with England regarding the Mosquito Coast and with El Salvador and Honduras respecting the Gulf of Fonseca, as well as the boundary conflicts with Costa Rica, Honduras, and Colombia, are discussed at length.

The last two-thirds of the volume contains the texts of the Spanish constitutions of 1808 and 1812, the acts relative to the independence of Central America and Nicaragua, the Central American constitutions of 1824 and 1898, the Nicaraguan constitutions of 1826, 1838, 1854, 1858, 1893, 1905, and 1911, numerous acts and decrees of a constitutional nature, amendments and projects of constitutional reform, and the unratified constitutions of 1911 and 1913. The work sets forth clearly the constitutional development of the country, and is particularly valuable on account of the long list of documents which are published in full.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives,  
Washington, D. C.

*Rim of Christendom: A Biography of Eusebio Francisco Kino, Pacific Coast Pioneer.* By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON. (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936. Pp. xv, 644, 54 illus., 3 facsimiles, 8 maps. \$5.00.)

Dr. Bolton owes much to Father Kino because the latter was not only a tireless traveler but a persevering writer; Father Kino owes much to Dr. Bolton because the latter is a cosmopolitan research scholar with a charming style. Kino may have set the pace, but Bolton's steed kept the pace. Throughout *Rim of Christendom*, two parallel set of thoughts occur to the reader and both retain his interest captive: Kino, in his multitudinous peregrinations as missionary and frontiersman, missed little on the Sonora-Arizona-Lower California rim of the world; Dr. Bolton desired to be as ubiquitous as the onward-moving Kino, so he followed the Kino trail which had its origin in Segno, Italy, and its termination in Magdalena, Mexico.

The author of *The Padre on Horseback* and discoverer of Kino's *Favores Celestiales* has not only ransacked the libraries and archives of several continents in his pursuit of Kino material, but has made *Rim of Christendom* ring like an epic of the trail. In the author's own words: "the writing of *Rim of Christendom* has been an adven-

ture both in foreign archives and on the trail". (P. viii.) In a more detailed manner he explains that

by water on ocean liner and Gulf steamer, by land on horseback, on muleback, by team, by automobile, and *à pie*, by air in a monoplane, I have retraced nearly all his endless trails and identified most of his campsites and waterholes—all this in an endeavor to see Kino's world as Kino saw it. (P. ix.)

The result is a life-like portrait of the Jesuit which appropriately might have been called *Kino Redivivus*.

Faced with the fact that the material on Kino gives "the completest revelation of the daily career of a missionary pioneer in America ever made available," (p. viii), the author, met the problem by a nicely balanced interweaving of his own narrative with chosen quotations from Kino's diaries and letters. If the details of many journeys become too long, despite their varied incidents, one is more inclined to chide Kino than his biographer. The author himself was aware of these details when he wrote: "If this story is too long, Kino himself is to blame, so many and so continued were his activities." (P. 586). One learns much of geography and topography, and those who boast of having traveled far and wide, might stop and ponder as to whether they have not missed a hundred canyons and waterholes, exotic deserts, and rushing streams against which the silhouette of Kino is firmly cast. Fortunately, for the reader unfamiliar with the Kino country, the author prepared splendid maps, large and detailed, where he may follow Kino from mission to mission, over crag and stream, across sand-dune and verdant valley.

Facts are one thing: understanding and interpretation are another. In these latter features, few historians dealing with the missionization period in the West Indies, have so well captured the spirit or have so faithfully interpreted the ecclesiastical themes treated, as has Dr. Bolton. This, together with the amount of vast data on which the book is based and the faithful following up of the Kino trail with diary in hand, constitute the book's lasting worth.

*Rim of Christendom* is written in a clear, pleasing style. There is color, too, with abundant humor, but dignity is always preserved. The color of "A Jack Rabbit jumps into History", is matched with the author's calling Kino "A California Booster", and describing him in more serious vein as "The Strong go forward". Together with this blend of color, humor, and dignity, there is expressed a practical psychology concerning men and situations running throughout the book.

Kino is definitely established as of Italian stock and is characterized as "the most picturesque missionary pioneer of all North America" (p. vii). He was without doubt one of the strong links in the upbuilding of empire on the continent, which began with Cortés and ended with Anza. If Kino had been a missionary only, his fame would have been eclipsed by many another. But he was a scholar as well. In exploration, in cartography, he was a pioneer. He had a studious bent for mathematics and astronomy. He showed a practical mind in his mission building and in his establishment of ranches. Finally, *Rim of Christendom* links up the Black Robes with "the Grey Robes who came after them" (p. 596), and describes the development of a great mission field which lay on the very confines of Alta California which Kino himself desired to evangelize.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.

Washington, D. C.

*The Spanish Missions of Georgia.* By JOHN TATE LANNING. [Publication of the University of Georgia.] (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Pp. xvi, 321. Map. Illustrations. Index. \$3.00).

As the territory of Spanish Florida was conquered by the conquistadores only after repeated effort, so the history of the land of Ponce de León and Menéndez is being unfolded by the successive researches of the historians. Modern Georgia was part of Spanish Florida. American historians of an earlier era emphasized the Spanish developments in this area between the years 1513 and 1574. Everyone knew about, but offered very few details concerning the great period of missionization in this southeastern section during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Jesuit period in that mission field, which was brief, from 1566 to 1570, was covered in the main by Lowery, and added to recently by Kenny in *Romance of the Floridas*. The Franciscan period, commencing in 1573 and ending only with the cession of Florida to England in 1763, had received only sporadic treatment. Strangely enough, the missionary story of Spanish Florida lagged far behind the historical treatment of its sister mission fields of California, New Mexico, and Texas. Of late years, new impetus has been given to this long period of missionary endeavor by an increasing number of research workers. Not until 1935, however, when *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* appeared, could there be ob-

tained anywhere in English or Spanish, a continuous and rounded-out history of the mission period of the southeastern portion of these United States. It is hardly necessary to point out that Dr. Lanning's work fills a large gap in our knowledge of missionary history of states comprising the Spanish borderlands.

Though the work is entitled *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, it covers nearly all the territory known in Spanish times as *Las Provincias de la Florida*. While not all the Franciscan missions were within the confines of modern Georgia, nevertheless, the large majority of them were not far distant. The Guale and Apalachicoli missions may be considered Georgian, while those of Timucua and Apalache were Floridian, but not far across the border.

This work is based almost entirely on archival material sought out in the archives of Spain and America, as the fifty-four pages of bibliography and valuable notes demonstrate (pp. 237-291). The author, after treating briefly the question of mission ruins and aboriginal tribes, devotes chapter II to the missionary endeavors of the Jesuits. Chapters III to IX inclusive, deals with the entire period of the Franciscan missions from their inception to their disintegration. The book is replete with new information on such topics as the Guale Revolt of 1597, the governorship of Méndez de Canzo, the period of expansion and decline, as well as organizational features of the Franciscans in the mission field. Though crammed with facts it is far from dry; on the contrary, the author has shown ability in organizing material that was often piecemeal and has presented the matter in an interesting and readable manner. The labors of the friars are recounted with sympathetic insight. Occasional defects occur in the use of ecclesiastical terminology. The drawings and illustrations by Willis Physioc are appropriate and lend interest to the work. The large map of the Georgia coast, opp. p. 144, is of great value, owing to the frequent reference in the text to Indian towns no longer existing. For the first time the story of the south-eastern mission area has been adequately told: *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* is a distinct contribution to the history of our Spanish borderlands.

MAYNARD GEIGER, O. F. M.

Washington, D. C.

*James Edward Oglethorpe Imperial Idealist.* By AMOS ASCHBACH ETTINGER. (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1936. Pp. xv, 348. \$5.50.)

Under every tenet of modern American historical scholarship this is an acceptable book. Mr. Ettinger has combined a vast array of technical paraphernalia required by his American peers with something of the English historian's literary ease. Even Dr. Johnson's observation on the possibilities of Oglethorpe's biography, as well as Boswell's example with that of the Doctor himself, seems to have been a two-pointed spur to this biographer. It would be impossible to list every title which might have some bearing upon Oglethorpe's career, but even so the extensive search for materials revealed in this book, not to mention the imposing company mentioned in the preface, makes this effort what students of the Oglethorpians venture long have required. Those who have essayed the clarification of Georgia history, both domestic and international, have felt the need for a scientific biography. Although Ettinger, like the majority of biographers with less worthy heroes, admires his subject, he does not shield him. He holds that Oglethorpe was, as Austin Dobson "happily dubbed" him, "a paladin of philanthropy", and regrets that Leslie Stephen did not grace his *History of English Political Thought in the Eighteenth Century* with a résumé of the political philosophy of the man whose "spirit ran half a century and more ahead of his age". He does not, however, conceal Oglethorpe's purposeful falsification as one requirement of imperial expansion.

Running the whole gamut of Oglethorpe's life, naturally, from a Jacobite youth through Parliament and the Georgia venture, the book also offers a portrayal of the mellower years of retirement and the strange psychological spectacle of one of the "founding fathers", delighting in the literary juntas of his London, but torn by the spasmodic loosening of England's hold on its American offspring. There are some who will think that the long association of Theophilus Oglethorpe and his family with the Jacobite movement does not have enough bearing upon James Edward's own attitude, albeit that son was ardently in the opposition to Walpole, to justify the space given the subject. To me it seems that the light more than warrants the energy expended and the space allotted. Moreover, for the first time in a biography of Oglethorpe the equilibrium between philanthropy and imperialism has been maintained. The revisionist historians of

Georgia have never had any complaint against the idea of philanthropy as a motive, except to give Dr. Thomas Bray his just deserts, and have only desired to see this factor more carefully evaluated and others introduced altogether.

As an indication of the extensive documentation of this single-volume biography, it is only necessary to point out that Ettinger has pioneered among Oglethorpe's Boswells by using the Spanish sources on an appreciable scale. That step will bring him the respect of those who have known that Oglethorpe should also be considered as an international adventurer and that, in one sense, his life cannot be blithely written from papers emanating exclusively from one side. The papers used, three *legajos* copied from the Archivo General de Indias for the Florida State Historical Society, enabled him to call the Spaniards to the witness chair of history. Fortunately, these three *legajos* are unusually rich, but there are others equally valuable and pertinent to Georgia and Oglethorpe housed in the Archivo General de Simancas which could be appropriately used in a more voluminous biography.

The commendable effort to maintain an eloquent tone and to inject verve into the narrative might sometimes lead, but for that fact, to what could be interpreted as a misconstruction of the documents. Archbishop-Viceroy, Bizarrón y Eguiarreta (which for obvious paleographical reasons he renders Vuarron y Eguiaretta) he sends working in the "holy war" of Jenkins' Ear with "unclerical glee". Such expressions, however, in so well-balanced a book must be taken as essentially rhetorical, for the indifferent Bizarrón hedged and did everything but disobey to avoid participation in the desultory war. He was not the last nor the first to observe the famous dictum of the vice-roys: *Obedezco pero no cumulo*. The chapter on the diplomacy of the frontier, which is more my forte than any other phase treated in the book, summarizes that important topic in an admirable and satisfactory manner. This book, coming in the wake of Professor Bolton's studies, closes another of the few remaining conspicuous gaps in the colonial history of the Georgia region. Even with the limitations of space imposed upon the author, it does not appear that another biography of Oglethorpe will be necessary in this generation. Small faults, so delightful to reviewers and so inevitable in a book embracing so many titles, so long a period, and so many facts, there are; but the dominant reaction is to wish that the author might feel a satis-

faction with his work as complete as his search for large and small items alike was scientifically disinterested and successfully finished.

JOHN TATE LANNING.

Duke University.

*The Spanish Tragedy, 1930-1936: Dictatorship, Republic and Chaos.*

By E. ALLISON PEERS. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1936.

Pp. xv, 247. \$2.50.)

Professor Peers has attempted what is, perhaps, an impossible task at this time, that is, to write an impartial account of the events culminating in the Spanish Civil War while that conflict is still going on. As a professor of Spanish at the University of Liverpool, author of numerous scholarly works of solid merit, director of a summer school in Spain which has brought him to the Peninsula often, and editor of the useful *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* with its week by week summary of events in Spain which he has contributed since 1929, he is surely qualified to undertake this difficult mission. In the main, he has been successful but, despite his plea for understanding rather than partisanship, his own conservative leanings at times color this excellent chronicle of events from the dictatorship of Primo de Rivera to the beginning of Franco's march on Madrid in the summer of 1936.

Running through Professor Peers's account is the thesis that the destruction of the Second Republic resulted from the over-eagerness of the leaders and masses for too rapid reform. Considering the essentially medieval society still prevailing in Spain in the twentieth century, it is nearer the truth to assert that the present tragic struggle was precipitated, not by the impatience of the masses but, rather, by the utter unwillingness of the small but powerful over-privileged classes to make any real concessions, any sacrifices for the welfare of people as a whole. As Professor Peers himself states, the Spaniards are patient and generous to a fault when their passions are not aroused, and he bears testimony to the hopefulness and idealism that swept the masses after the flight of Alfonso XIII and the establishment of the Second Republic in 1931. The present writer had the good fortune to be in Spain at that time and was profoundly impressed by the expectant but good-natured mood prevailing among the workers and peasants. But this era of good feeling was short-lived. The first sour note was struck by Cardinal Segura, primate of all Spain, in a pastoral letter which made it clear that the Church would

brook no interference with the privileges that it had enjoyed for centuries. Professor Peers acknowledges that this incident was "unfortunate". Shortly after this indication of ecclesiastical intransigence toward the new régime began the long series of disturbances involving the burning of churches and convents. The uncompromising attitude of the Church, then, as well as that of other conservative institutions rather than the excessive zeal for reform, embarrassed the republican leaders almost from the outset.

Professor Peers's book begins with an admirable chapter on Primo de Rivera's dictatorship and the events preceding the municipal elections in April, 1931. The remaining four record the short rise and rapid decline of the Second Republic but some omissions are noticeable as well as differences of emphasis. He fails to make the reader truly conscious of the magnitude of the problem which faced the newborn republican government. In order to clear the ground for definite and long-needed changes benefiting all classes, it was imperative to disestablish *three* deeply rooted institutions—the landed aristocracy intimately associated with the monarchy, the army (meaning its officers largely recruited from the privileged classes), and the Church. These elements would relinquish none of their prerogatives without a determined struggle. With reforms long overdue and the unyielding attitude of the propertied classes early manifest, the task of Alcalá Zamora and particularly Manuel Azaña, the first prime ministers, was a gigantic one, and of the relatively long administration of the latter Professor Peers is less than fair in his appraisal. He ignores, for example, Azaña's statesmanlike attempt to subordinate the army to the welfare of the nation and to increase its efficiency. In speaking sympathetically of Alfonso XIII, Professor Peers omits to mention the ludicrously over-staffed army of generals and higher officers that the monarchy had willed to the Republic. In his last despairing efforts to save his tottering throne, Alfonso had commissioned and promoted a large number of officers whose proportion to the total of common soldiers was ridiculously large. Azaña put through legislation to pension off many of these at full pay in order to decrease the likelihood of military revolts by disgruntled officers. That such favored individuals put their own ambition above national welfare is attested by the fact that no sense of gratitude restrained them from attempts to overthrow the republic from an early date. Again the reactionary attitude of a privileged group rather than the popular impatience for reform brought disaster to the Second Republic.

The expropriation of the vast land holdings, particularly in southern Spain, proceeded slowly enough to suit the most exacting advocate of gradual reform. In view of their great expectations, the peasants were fairly patient until it became evident that the forces of reaction were obviously tending toward the restoration of lands already expropriated.

While Professor Peers is properly distressed by the reprisals which the people, infuriated by the continued intransigence of the Church, took against churches and convents, priests and religious orders, he neglects to point out that these buildings were disproportionately numerous compared to public schools, and that the ranks of priests and nuns were so swollen as to constitute an excessive burden upon the poverty-stricken masses. He devotes more space to the thirty Jesuit secondary schools closed by republican authorities than to the 3,000 schools that the republic established in the first three months of its existence and the 7,000 more it expected to complete within a year. Traditionally, of course, Jesuit schools have long enjoyed high reputation but it may be doubted if, at any time, they have offered youth adequate preparation for twentieth century life. Doubtless, the new schools of the republic were staffed by inadequately prepared or incompetent teachers but a few years would have remedied this. Surely the illiteracy afflicting half the population which Church-controlled education had permitted under the monarchy would soon have been greatly reduced if the republic had received real coöperation.

Though abhorring fascism and communism, Professor Peers seems to prefer the former and believes that if the rightists had triumphed at the polls in February, 1936, a more beneficent fascism would have slowly developed than the militaristic one which France seeks to impose. But under either form the masses would profit little. If the small, over-privileged groups had possessed the necessary patriotism to make a few sacrifices, the carnage and bloodshed since July, 1936, would have been avoided.

Notwithstanding these matters to which exception has been taken, Professor Peers's book is an exceedingly useful and interesting one. It gives no evidence of hasty compilation to meet a sudden need and the author, in expressing his views, abstains from dogmatism. Since, in the valuable bibliography which he appends, he indicates that J. B. Trend, *The Origins of Modern Spain*<sup>1</sup> is "written from the standpoint

<sup>1</sup> See this REVIEW, XV (May, 1935), 244-247.

of the Left" it is fair to close this review with the statement that *The Spanish Tragedy* is written from the standpoint of the *Right*.

IRVING A. LEONARD.

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*Historia de España*, Vol. II, *España Romana*, 218 a. de J. C.-414 de J. C. Edited by RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1935. Pp. XL, 810.)

This is the first volume issued of a proposed twenty-volume history of Spain. The introduction by Menéndez Pidal is an excellent review of Spain in the Roman epoch. The body of the volume is divided into three main sections: The first section, "La Conquista de España por Roma, 218 a 19 a. de J. C." by Pedro Bosch Gimpera and Pedro Aguado Bleye (pp. 3-283), treats the military aspects of the conquest in considerable detail. The proportion of the volume devoted to this subject would be too great had not the authors developed the economic and social aspects along with the military. They carry along with the facts of the military occupation the story of the institutional evolution of Spain in this era. The second section, "Instituciones económicas, sociales y político-administrativas" by Manuel Torres (pp. 287-519), describes the evolution of Spain during the more than six hundred years of Roman conquest and control. Especially in the treatment of agriculture (pp. 317-337) and of social classes (pp. 363-368), the descriptions sound as if they were meant to apply to the situation existing in Spain in the recent period. The third section, "Las Letras y las Artes", is the work of several authors. José M. Pabón is responsible for the history of Spanish literature during the epoch of the "Escritores Páganos" (pp. 525-543); Pascual Galindo contributes the treatment of the "Escritores Cristianos" (pp. 547-561); José Ramón Mélida contributes the sections on "Arquitectura, Escultura, Pintura decorativa y mosaicos", and "El Arte Romano-Cristiano" (pp. 565-751); and Pedro M. de Artíñano and José Ferrandis that on "Artes Industriales Hispano-Romanas" (pp. 755-771). The index (pp. 775-796) is good and there is an ample table of contents. The maps, illustrations, plans, and photostats are numerous and of such a quality as to make this volume equivalent to a catalogue of the Spanish museums as well as of Spanish art in foreign museums. The reviewer considers this the most significant historical project yet to come out of Spain

and believes it compares favorably in every way with anything produced by other nations. Certainly every library should place it on the "must" list of purchases. It is possible of course that the future volumes might not uphold the high standard set by this one but it seems unlikely that a work so auspiciously begun should fail to maintain its standard.

BAILEY W. DIFFIE.

The College of the City of New York.

*Geography of Latin America.* By FRED A. CARLSON. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1936. Pp. xxii, 642. Illus. \$5.00).

All geographers realize that students of Hispanic American history can not neglect the geography of Hispanic America. Dr. Carlson, like Professors Whitbeck, C. F. Jones, and Shanahan, has attempted to write not only for geography students but for history students as well. He has divided his book into two parts: South America and Middle America (Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies). Chapter 1 of Part I is entitled "Geographical Background" and it gives a brief summary of the historical geography of South America with a rather too thin veneer of historical facts and factors, and those not always entirely accurate. Chapter 2 is called "The Andean Landscape" and deals with the great mountainous backbone of the continent. Thereafter, the chapter headings indicate a regional treatment by countries. Part II begins on page 423 with one chapter devoted to Central America, two chapters to Mexico, and one to the West Indies. The final chapter bears the title "The United States and Latin America" and deals chiefly with the economic aspects of Pan Americanism.

The volume is replete with many maps of historical as well as geographical value, and the illustrations (chiefly photographs) are pertinent and up to date. Those who wish a clear and succinct statement of the comparative meanings of the terms "Latin American", "Hispanic American", and "Ibero-American" should read pages vii and viii of the Preface. Each chapter is followed by a selected bibliography of both geographical and historical articles and books, although perhaps not as many are cited as some persons would wish. The appendix consists of a "Pronunciation Key" and a "Pronouncing List of Selected Latin American Names". The index may be satisfactory for the geographer, but not for the historian.

Compared with other geographical treatments this volume is emi-

nently satisfactory. But some day, perhaps, the ideal geography of Hispanic America will be written coöperatively by a geographer and a historian. Until then such books as this must be used for whatever they are worth.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

Washington, D. C.

*History of Latin America.* By HUTTON WEBSTER. 2d ed. revised and augmented by ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1936. Pp. xiii, 278).

When a new edition of a text book appears, one's first question is: "How does it differ from the previous edition?" Professor Hussey has not changed chapters I to V (the colonial period), but he has altered chapter VI, written a new chapter IX, and revised chapters VII, VIII, X, and XI. Much new bibliographical material in English has been added. The maps and illustrations, according to Professor Hussey, have not been changed. However, some illustrations have been rearranged and line cuts have replaced some photographs. The chronological summary has been augmented slightly and the index is more extensive.

Professor Webster's volume is too well known to need summary here. But it seems to the reviewer that the editor and the publishers have missed an opportunity to make this a really serviceable high-school text by neglecting to add even the recognized types of students' and teachers' aids and by not printing more essential maps and more appropriate illustrations. Moreover, the whole format and organization are less suited to secondary school students than to college students, although the contents are on the high-school level. There is still need for a first class high-school text book dealing with Hispanic American history.

A. CURTIS WILGUS.

Washington, D. C.

*Vida de Juan Montalvo.* By OSCAR EFREN REYES. (Quito: Edición del Grupo América, 1935. Pp. 418.)

The appearance of a biography of a man whose name is associated almost exclusively with the literary evolution of Hispanic America

may seem to have little direct bearing on the purely historical aspect. However, in this case, a distinction must be made. Juan Montalvo, whose name has come to evoke almost a veneration in Hispanic America, was so closely associated with the history of Ecuador during the second half of the nineteenth century as to be inseparable from it. There are those who insist that his influence on political thought in Ecuador was relatively slight in contrast with the undeniable influence of Ecuadorean polities on his own formation.

The author, who has written several volumes on Ecuadorean history, concentrates on four great periods in the development of Juan Montalvo. The first epoch is that of *El Cosmopolita*, the publication devoted to the merciless flagellation of Gabriel García Moreno. From the moment when Montalvo sends García Moreno his famous communication of 1860, urging upon him moderation and respect for individual values, until the biting and violent numbers of *El Cosmopolita*, the life of Montalvo is dedicated to the task of unmasking García Moreno. It is to be noted that there was never a polemic, strictly speaking, between Montalvo and García Moreno. One is prone to think of the two as rivals, whereas in reality, aside from two ironical bits of verse, García Moreno gave little indication of the existence of Juan Montalvo. The rivalry is rather between the schools of thought represented in them—not between the two men as the incarnation of that thought. Following this initial period which was stormy indeed for the prescribed Montalvo, there followed long years of exile in Ipiales in Colombia during which some of the most striking literary productions were conceived, notably the *Siete Tratados* and the equally famous *Capítulos que se le olvidaron a Cervantes*. This exile was interrupted by the event of August 6, 1875, when García Moreno fell before his assassins in Quito.

Montalvo was not merely an untiring enemy of García Moreno. His thought was perhaps romantically liberal, hostile to all forms of tyranny or dictatorship. No sooner had García Moreno fallen than the vitriolic pen of Montalvo was turned against his successor, Antonio Borrero. In a short essay, *El Regenerador*, published in Panama, Montalvo decried the tendencies of the new régime and urged a final elimination of the heritage of García Moreno. Soon after there rose to power another militarist, equal to Urvina and Robles, Ignacio de Veintemilla. Montalvo was allowed scant tranquility under the

new president. He was exiled from Ecuador, only to return to pass long months in Ambato and Baños. Elected deputy from the province of Esmeraldas, Montalvo refused to take his seat, judging his direct intervention in public questions useless. The latter years of his life were spent in France, to which he retired, discouraged with events in Ecuador, and eager to find occasion for the publication of his numerous unpublished pieces. The *Siete Tratados* appeared in France, as did the *Mercurial Eclesiástica*, one of the bitterest anticlerical diatribes. These years were distinguished by the publication of *El Espectador*.

Juan Montalvo is undoubtedly the synonym of a political philosophy. His writings make it difficult to organize a compact body of political doctrines. The violence of his language and his scant respect at times for historical fact makes for a blind partisanship rather than for a serene exposition of concepts. A pure prose is beyond question his primary contribution to Hispanic American thought. His political creed is more often than not a spirited rebelliousness against a system—any system that curbs or frustrates the individual will. He is the intense individualist against the totalitarian García Moreno.

RICHARD PATTEE.

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*The Argonauts of 1769, a narrative of the occupation of San Diego and Monterey by Don Gaspar de Portola.* By FRED W. ATKINSON. (Watsonville, Calif.: Pajaronian Press, 1936. Pp. 166.)

This narrative is a popular outline of early Spanish California history. It presents a series of bird's eye views of historical highlights garnered for the most part from Bancroft, Hittell, Eldridge, Chapman, Bolton, and other standard sources. Advanced students will encounter nothing original in material or treatment, but the casual reader or beginner, to whom the book is addressed, will find it a useful introduction to more scholarly and detailed works. Bibliographical notations are minimized, but there are a number of factual and interpretative notes.

VERNON D. TATE.

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*The Martyrs of Florida (1513-1616).* By Luís GERÓNIMO ORÉ, O.F.M.  
Translated, with biographical introduction and notes by MAYNARD  
GEIGER, O. F. M. (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., [c]1936).  
Pp. xx, 145. \$1.00 paper.)

This little volume forms No. 18 (July, 1936) of the series of "Franciscan Studies". Its translator and editor has charge of the papers left by Fr. Zephryin Engelhardt, O. F. M., at the Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California. For several years, however, Fray Maynard has been studying for his doctoral at the Catholic University of America, his dissertation being concerned with the early Franciscan missions of Florida. It is quite fitting, therefore, that he should translate and edit this very interesting relation of Fray Luís Gerónimo Oré, the title of which in the original is *Relación de los Mártires que ha habido en las Provincias de la Florida*. The original of this Relation is extremely scarce, so scarce, in fact, that the translator has had to utilize an edition published at Madrid, in 1931, by Fray Atanasio López, O. F. M. The original edition (Lima) is undated but was probably between 1617 and 1620, according to Fray Maynard.

As the translator points out in his introduction, the treatise is of unequal value in its various parts. The first part is sketchy and is not without errors. The value of the work, Fr. Maynard asserts, lies in the author's treatment of the missionary work of the friars, "especially from 1595 to 1616", where details not found elsewhere are given.

The translation and annotations are admirable. The annotations, especially, are discriminating and sane. The non-Catholic will welcome the explanations of technical words and phrases, the exact meaning of which often proves a stumbling block to those "not of the habit". If for nothing else than these explanations, the volume is to be commended. The work itself is a real contribution to the study of the early history of Florida. There the mission work of the Franciscans was on a par with their work in any section of the new world. The Florida missions antedated the California missions by many years, and the followers of St. Francis have a rich heritage in that early, unselfish labor. There are still mission ruins in Florida that should be preserved. That at New Smyrna has been preserved by The Florida State Historical Society. It would be meet for the Franciscan Order itself to set in motion plans for the preservation of others, and this reviewer dares to hope that this will be done.

Easy consultation of the volume would have been facilitated had the annotations been printed as footnotes and in a type smaller than the body text; but this criticism is not one against the translator but rather against the publisher, as are also the serious slips in proofreading that are found occasionally. The volume in itself is so valuable that it should have only the best format consistent with its small price. It would seem that the translator should have preferably cited the new translation of the Relation of the Gentleman of Elvas, instead of the faulty ones that preceded it, but it is quite probable that that edition was not available, since so few copies were printed.

The book is commended because it throws new light on the Florida missions, and because of the uniform sanity of its editor. It should be read not only by those interested in the work of Spain in the Americas, but by students of United States history and alike by those interested in religious movements.

JAMES A. ROBERTSON.

## NOTES AND COMMENT

### MINUTES OF THE CONFERENCE ON HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, HELD IN PROVIDENCE DECEMBER 29, 1936

The Conference was held at the Biltmore Hotel. Preceding the annual luncheon there was an interesting session on Hispanic American History devoted to Maya research. Professor C. H. Haring acted as chairman.<sup>1</sup>

At the close of the luncheon, Professor Joseph B. Lockey, the chairman, called a short business meeting of the Hispanic American Conference. The minutes of the 1935 Conference at Chattanooga were read and approved. A report by the nominating committee for 1937 (Professor Arthur Aiton, chairman, Professor I. J. Cox, and Dr. Frances Scholes) was made. The slate presented by the nominating committee of a committee to prepare for the next conference consisted of Professor Arthur P. Whitaker, chairman, Dr. Lewis Hanke, and Professor Mary W. Williams. By motion, duly seconded, the secretary was authorized to cast a ballot for the nominees.

A meeting of the committee on Latin American Research was announced by the chairman and the Managing Editor of *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW* announced that a meeting of the Editorial Board would be held immediately after the conference.

There being no further business, the meeting was then adjourned.

LILLIAN E. FISHER,  
Secretary of the Hispanic  
American Conference of the  
American Historical Association.

### O INSTITUTO BRASIL-ESTADOS UNIDOS

During the past few decades, and especially since the World War, the leading nations of Western Europe have left no stone unturned in their efforts to consolidate and extend their influence both economic and cultural in South America. An almost unbroken stream of lec-

<sup>1</sup> The three papers read at this session are printed in this number of the *REVIEW*.

tures, missions, emissaries of one kind or another have sought to bring home to such countries as Argentina, Brazil, and Chile the extent to which in the intellectual and artistic domains they are beholden to the Old World. This propaganda takes various forms. Organizations of the type of the "Instituto Teuto-Brasileiro da Alta Cultura" in Rio de Janeiro are growing in number and importance. French lycées are being located at strategic points. Institutions of higher learning find it easy to secure the loan of distinguished professors. Few would question the justice or desirability of quickening the spiritual currents between nations in this distracted world; intellectual coöperation was never more needed than at the present time.

But let one examine the subject a little more narrowly and he will quickly discover that one of the prime though unavowed objects of these campaigns in South America is to counteract or undermine the influence of the United States. The occasional North American instructor in a South American university is quickly made aware that his European colleagues are missionaries as well as teachers. Whatever success has attended our efforts in invading the economic terrain, in the intellectual realm the influence of the United States is distinctly on the defensive.

This situation has given pause to a group of Brazilians and North Americans who are eager to devise some effective means to tighten the cultural bonds between their respective countries. Their efforts began to bear fruit early in the present year. On January 13, the Instituto Brasil-Estados Unidos was formally inaugurated before a large and select audience in the Itamaraty Palace (Brazilian Foreign Office). The gathering, composed of members of the diplomatic corps, leading educators, and other prominent Brazilians and North-Americans, was presided over by Dr. Mario Pimentel Brandão, acting minister of Foreign Affairs. Among those on the platform were Dr. Helio Lobo, the noted writer and diplomat, long consul general in New York; Dr. Hugh C. Tucker, one of the oldest and most prominent members of the United States colony; the Argentine ambassador, Dr. Ramón José Cárcano; and Dr. Guy S. Inman who was returning to the United States after having served as a technical adviser to the United States Delegation at Buenos Aires. Dr. Helio Lobo was elected president. Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Brazilian ambassador to the United States was the first to sign the statutes of the new organization. Among the founders of the movement were chiefly prominent educators, lawyers,

diplomats, and social workers. The daily press devoted a large amount of space to the subject. The important papers carried long editorials, all of them favorable. The point was repeatedly stressed that for many years the United States had been looked upon by many otherwise intelligent Brazilians as a purely materialistic country without any culture and that this impression had been fostered directly and indirectly by European interests. Dr. Assis Chateaubriand, perhaps the best known and most influential journalist in Brazil, declared in a two column article that South America had committed a serious error in not evincing greater sympathy for and interest in the United States. It was the United States and not Europe, he pointed out, that had always defended South America from aggression; it was the United States and not Europe which had made gifts to the other Americas. The magnificent accomplishments of the Rockefeller Foundation, the university fellowships so freely extended to South American students, these and similar aids were from the generosity of the New World and not from the Old. The recurrent note in all of these editorial utterances was the hope that the new organization would show itself really effective in bringing about a better appreciation of the cultural achievements of the two nations. In view of the long and unbroken traditions of friendship between Brazil and the United States such a hope may well be justified.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

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#### LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES FOR HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN ECUADOR

The absence of an adequate organization of the archive materials of Ecuador constitutes a major obstacle in effective historical research in the republic. Efforts have been made to obtain government aid for the creation of a national center of archives in Quito for the preservation of the documentary treasures of the country, but to date nothing has been achieved. The result is that the scholar is faced by the task of visiting and investigating scattered collections which, in view of the difficulties of transportation to some points, is a considerable undertaking. The present survey is a rapid sketch of the existing institutions in Ecuador where valuable historical materials are to be found. One or two private sources are mentioned in view of their extraordinary importance.

In Guayaquil two excellent libraries for Ecuadorean history exist. The first is that known as the "Biblioteca de Autores Nacionales" created by Dr. Carlos A. Rolando, one of the most energetic and competent of Ecuadorean historians and bibliographers. For some thirty years Dr. Rolando devoted himself to the formation of a library of national works embracing every phase of Ecuadorean life. In 1913, this library was declared open to the public and suitably housed for general consultation. Until 1931, the collection remained the private property of the owner, but through his generosity was donated to the municipality of Guayaquil in that year with the stipulation that the donor was to continue as curator. At the present time, this splendid library occupies four rooms in the Palacio Municipal and is open for general use. The well known Centro de Investigaciones Históricas of Guayaquil, of which Dr. Rolando is the director, has its seat in the library. According to the figures for 1936 the Rolando library consists of 4,100 books, 7,950 pamphlets, 125,000 newspapers, 14,500 leaflets, and 280 manuscripts.

As will be noted, the collections of newspapers, *hojas sueltas*, and pamphlets is exceptionally rich. There is probably no other Ecuadorean library in the world containing such an abundance of materials of this character. The library is perfectly organized and classified with excellent facilities for consultation and research. Guayaquil is fortunate in having a group of historians so devoted to scholarship as those who form the Centro de Investigaciones. While much of the work done is made public through the press and consequently rarely reaches the foreign reader, there has been created a serious and effective agency for the diffusion of a knowledge of Ecuadorean history. Dr. Rolando himself is the author of numerous bibliographical studies of prime interest to the investigator. His bibliographies of Montalvo, Cordero, Juan León Mera, and others are widely known. In addition, he has produced an extensive study of the journalism of Ecuador with reference to the history and development of the press. Another member of the Centro is Gustavo Monrey Garaicoa, to whose enthusiasm is due in large measure the formation of the Centro in 1930. Journalist and historian, his contribution to the cultivation of historical studies in Guayaquil has been noteworthy. Carlos Matamoros Jara, Juan Antonio Alminate (one of the best known librarians and bibliographers of Ecuador), Efrián Camacho, and Manuel An-

tonio Jurado Rumbea are other members of this Guayaquil group whose labors are producing important additions to the knowledge of this republic. The address of Dr. Carlos A. Rolando is Biblioteca Rolando de Autores Nacionales, Guayaquil, Ecuador.

The second collection of historical works in Guayaquil worthy of mention is that of the Biblioteca Municipal. The work of classification and organization was done some years ago by Sr. Alminate. The present director is Dr. Modesto Chávez Franco. The Municipal Library, as a whole, contains some forty thousand volumes, the majority of which are of a general nature. The Ecuadorean section is inferior to that of the Rolando collection. There are, however many interesting and curious items, especially of documents relating to the independence and later republican period. The museum is small but fairly representative of the archaeology of Ecuador. There is little to be found in this library, however, which cannot be consulted in the Rolando collection. The character of the climate of Guayaquil has played havoc with many of the books and manuscripts of the Municipal Library, so that much has been destroyed with the lapse of years. The library has suffered too from severe fires, which have constituted the plague of Guayaquil.

One would suppose that the richest sources for historical materials is Quito. As a matter of fact, there is no better single library for Ecuadorean history than that of Dr. Rolando in Guayaquil. In Quito, the materials are more scattered and much is to be found in private hands rather than in institutions open to the public. The religious collections are of course extremely abundant in the capital. In Guayaquil, little of this sort is to be found. The convents and monasteries of Quito all contain libraries of greater or lesser extent, with notable collections of religious documents and literature. The National Library itself, now under the direction of Sr. Enrique Terán has suffered from official negligence and faulty organization. The specialized collections are several in number. There is one devoted exclusively to the colonial period, with a fair number of manuscripts from the eighteenth century in particular. Some materials from Jesuit sources have been brought together in this division. It is small and unfortunately suffers from alarming gaps which hampers effective research. The strictly national section is of recent creation and cannot compare either in extent or variety with that of Dr. Rolando. For general works and

books, without taking into account pamphlet and newspaper sources, the National Library is acceptable. There are no collections of newspapers even for the later nineteenth century.

The Municipal Library of Quito is beautifully housed and presents an exceedingly attractive appearance. The section of Ecuadorean works is not large but is representative of most that is fundamental for the history, geography, and archaeology of the republic. The initiative in this creation has been taken by Sr. Roberto Páez, whose unbounded enthusiasm for things historical is amply demonstrated by the series of publications of cédulas and documents which the municipality of Quito has undertaken. This series has now reached ten volumes, most of which treat of the founders and early settlers of the capital city. The Municipal Library is located in the Ayuntamiento of Quito but has long since outgrown its quarters.

The library of the Universidad Central is not at all strong on national works. Owing to the destructive fire of some years ago, a vast amount of material has been irreparably lost. The university archives reveal little which dates before the last century. As a matter of fact, only since the reorganization of the institution in the latter nineteenth century, has the library been modernized and rehoused. For the colonial epoch there is practically nothing. The explanation lies in the confused condition of university life in Quito during the century prior to independence. The existence of several institutions of higher learning in Quito, among them the Universidad de San Gregorio and that of San Fulgencio and Santo Tomás, led to a decentralization of university activity. With the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 and the dissolution of the university under the authority of this order, much of the library and collections was taken elsewhere. What was not dispersed, was transported to Chile and as a result lost to Ecuador. Little of this original library material is to be found today in Quito. The two Jesuit establishments of present-day Quito, Colegio de San Gabriel and Cotocollao possess very little of merit or of interest from the period prior to the separation from Spain. Indeed, for research in the colonial epoch strictly speaking, Quito offers very little. The secondary position of the Audiencia de Quito, the dependence for a time on Lima and on Bogotá, all contributed to deprive Quito of materials which would make it a primary intellectual center. Moreover, the ravages of nature must be taken into account,

since Quito has been shaken by innumerable earthquakes which have buried and destroyed many collections of sources.

By far the best library in Quito for research in the republican period is that called the Archivo del Poder Legislativo, which corresponds to the library of congress. Lodged in the Palacio de Gobierno on the Plaza de la Independencia, the library has been for many years under the direction of Manuel Antonio Yépez, an extremely diligent and competent director and the author of an excellent *clave* or key to Ecuadorean legislation and laws. This library is the only one in Ecuador which possesses the complete collections of the official journals, decrees, laws, constitutions, and the like. The acts of the numerous constituent assemblies, the original text of laws and legislation, is carefully preserved and open to public consultation. The most important item available in this library is the large collection of the acts and minutes of the congresses, all of the earlier ones written in hand and unpublished.

In the numerous religious houses there exist collections of more or less importance. The Convento de la Merced, for example, possesses a small selection of national authors and a rather good assortment of works treating of religion. Here, as well as in the Convento de Santo Domingo and the other religious communities, documents and works dealing with the evolution and work of the diverse congregations are available. Many of the best historical scholars of contemporary Ecuador are members of the large and influential religious orders, among them being the brilliant historian of the republican period, Rev. José María le Gouhir y Rodas, S. J., who is an indefatigable worker in the history of Ecuador. His private collection at San Gabriel contains many rare and choice pieces of national bibliography. Rev. Alfonso Jerves, O. P., has done notable work in the religious history of Ecuador and is the author of numerous sketches or religious figures of the nation. Rev. Joel Leónidas Monroy, Mercedarian, has contributed several thick volumes on the activity of the Mercedarians in Ecuador from the earliest colonial period. His volume on the Convento de la Merced, one of the architectural glories of Quito, is exhaustive. Rev. Vacas Galindo, O. P., has published three large volumes relative to the Perú-Ecuador boundary, and is a recognized authority in that field. Other authoritative monographs and volumes as well have come from his pen. The list of ecclesiastical

authors could be greatly extended. They have had a great share in the cultural life of the republic.

Private collections are numerous in Quito. Perhaps the most famous and best known is that belonging to Dr. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño. This library is noted for its treasures in Americana, as well as for the extraordinary art and archaeological materials preserved there. Dr. Jijón y Caamaño is at the moment in exile abroad and his library is closed. Among the important items of this remarkable collection is the first newspaper published in Quito, the *Primicias de la Cultura*. Other residents of Quito possess noteworthy libraries, many of which are of undoubted importance and interest to the scholar. Among these may be mentioned those of Dr. Pio Jaramillo Alvarado and Dr. Luis Felipe Borja (the latter attorney general of Ecuador). Smaller collections of books dealing with national history are to be found in the Academia Nacional de la Historia and in the Sociedad Bolivariana, both housed in a building erected by the Bolivarian Society.

The impression of the investigator in Quito is the difficulty of effective work owing to the lack of a centralized organization of materials. Much time is inevitably lost in utilizing the services and facilities of the scattered collections of which we have given a brief and summary description.

Elsewhere in Ecuador there are small libraries worthy of mention. In Ambato, capital of the province of Tungurahua there is an institution known as the Casa de Montalvo, organized in 1927 in the house in which Juan Montalvo was born. This library has developed during the past nine years until it now contains a very representative collection of Ecuadorean writers. The museum is select, with portraits of personalities of the past related to Ambato and with numerous relics of Juan Montalvo, including manuscript copies of all his works. The director of the library is Sr. Carlos B. Sevilla whose address is Casilla 128, Ambato, Ecuador. The Casa de Montalvo is eager to establish exchange connections with foreign institutions.

At Riobamba in the province of Chimborazo there is a small and relatively unimportant collection of national authors in the Biblioteca Municipal. Two notable scholars, both devoted to Ecuadorean history and letters reside in the Jesuit house in Riobamba (Colegio de San Felipe Neri): Rev. José Félix Heredia, rector of the college and one of the most eminent present-day scholars in Ecuadorean history; and

Rev. Luis Gallo Almeida, noted for his excellent manual of Ecuadorean literature, *Literatos Ecuatorianos*, issued some years ago. The contribution of the latter to the literary history of the nation has been remarkably fruitful.

At Cuenca, in the province of Azuay, noted as the cultural capital of Ecuador and long the seat of a vigorous and stimulating intellectual life, there is a small but very select library of Ecuadorean authors, organized by Rev. Miguel Angel Jaramillo and known as the Biblioteca "Jaramillo" de Escritores Nacionales. While much smaller than the Rolando library in Guayaquil, that of Father Jaramillo constitutes one of the best in the republic. Throughout Ecuadorean history, especially since the creation of the republic in 1830, Cuenca has played a rôle of striking significance in the cultural and political progress of the nation. Hence the importance of this growing collection, of which a catalogue has been published. This aid to the investigator is as yet lacking for the other libraries named. Dr. Rolando has projected the publication of a complete index of his library which in itself will constitute a veritable Ecuadorean bibliography.

RICHARD PATTEE.

University of Puerto Rico.

By resolution of the senate of the University of London on October 23, 1935, the regulations for the B.A. Honours Examination in History for internal students of the University were amended so that candidates may now offer, as an optional subject, The History of Latin-America since 1780, and, as a special subject, The Emancipation of Latin-America, 1808-1826. For the study of the latter subject a number of documents have been prescribed.

At University College, efforts are being made to build up a general and undergraduate library for the study of Hispanic-American history. The Institute of Historical Research is forming a collection of historical sources and periodical literature. Exchanges with many of the Hispanic-American historical societies have already been arranged, and it is hoped to make this collection as complete as possible.  
—R. A. HUMPHREYS, London.

The Division of Historical Research of Carnegie Institution of Washington has compiled (1937) a *List of Doctoral Dissertations in History now in progress at American Universities, December, 1936*.

This was compiled by Mrs. Margaret Willgoose Harrison. On pp. 24-27 are listed items pertaining to "Latin America and the West Indies", comprising Nos. 343-388. The following universities are represented: American, Catholic (Washington), California, Chicago, Columbia, Duke, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, Missouri, Northwestern, Ohio State, Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh, Radcliffe, Texas, and Wisconsin. A supplementary list for dissertations at Stanford University, lists two additional items relative to Hispanic America.

Dr. Roscoe R. Hill was granted leave from the National Archives in Washington for two months beginning February 15, in order that he might participate in a mission to Hispanic America for the Texas Pan-American Exposition. The itinerary, which was mostly by aeroplane, began at Brownsville, Texas, and led through most of the Hispanic American countries of the Americas and the islands of the Caribbean region. Dr. Hill recently made a similar trip for the Power Conference.

Dr. Paul Vanorden Shaw, formerly of Columbia University, sailed in February, 1937, to take the chair of the History of American Civilization in the University of São Paulo, Brazil. This is the first time an American of the United States has been called to a chair in a University of Hispanic America. Dr. Shaw has the advantage of having been born in Brazil and of knowing the language.

About the time Miss Irene A. Wright, long an investigator in the Archivo de Indias, and now connected with the National Archives in Washington, left Spain, an extended note of some of her activities appeared in the *Madrid Mail* of March 18, 1936. This recounts something of her work in the history of Cuba, Jamaica, and of the English and Dutch seamen in the Caribbean regions. Her work relative to Jamaica brought her election as a fellow in the Royal Historical Society. That in Cuban history was so well appreciated in Cuba that the Academy of History of that country requested her to continue her labors in that field. Her contributions to the knowledge of early English and Dutch seamen in the Caribbean, as has been the case with all her work, offered new and unknown materials to the historian. These are extremely important additions not only to English and Dutch policy, but to American history as well. Miss Wright is the

author of at least twenty historical titles, some published in book form and others as articles in learned reviews. Three of her articles were published in this REVIEW. Her publications have been entirely from original and unused manuscripts. She carried on many investigations for individuals, societies, and governments, and furnished all of them with photostat copies of the materials desired. To the Florida State Historical Society, she supplied over 100,000 sheets of photocopies on the history of Spanish Florida, and many to the Library of Congress on various regions. If the Spanish archives should suffer because of the fratricidal war now waging in Spain, scholars can congratulate themselves that so much has been saved. Miss Wright's contributions to the cause of American history have not been slight.

Miss Madaline W. Nichols, of Berkeley, California, has recently returned from Chile, where she had been the recipient of one of the Chilean summer scholarships granted by the Chilean government. This is the first time these scholarships have been granted. It is hoped that they will continue, and that other Hispanic American countries will initiate the practice.

Dr. Irving A. Leonard of the University of California, Berkeley, who received a Guggenheim Fellowship in the spring of 1936 for research in South America sailed for Peru in May to carry on investigations in the colonial records of Peru, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. He has also received a commission from the Rockefeller Foundation to study at the same time and report on cultural and intellectual conditions in the various countries which he will visit. More recent advice is to the effect that Dr. Leonard has severed his connection with the University of California and is now connected with the Division of Humanities of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Professor Richard Pattee, of the University of Puerto Rico, has returned recently from an extended visit to Ecuador, where he made investigations in the archives and libraries of that country. A short article by him embodying some of the fruits of his research is published in this issue of the REVIEW.

A course in the culture of Hispanic America has been initiated at the School of Education of the College of the City of New York, under Dr. Philip Leonard Green. The course is conducted in Spanish and when it was inaugurated in October, 1936, it already had an enrolment of twenty-four, some of whom are teachers of Spanish, some

prospective teachers, and some merely because they are interested in the subject. According to the prospectus, the course "aims to provide an opportunity to achieve greater facility in Spanish while acquiring useful and interesting knowledge concerning the culture to which that language is a key".

The Second International Congress of the History of America will be celebrated in Buenos Aires in July, 1937. The congress will be held under the auspices of the Official Committee of the Quaternary of Buenos Aires. The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana will also work together with the Organizing Committee for the success of the congress. One of the purposes of the celebration is the closer drawing together of the intellectual relations of the several states of the American continents. Delegates of historical institutions, university professors of the historical disciplines, and investigators in the past of America will be titular members of the congress; and professors, teachers, and writers, in general, on notifying the Organizing Committee of their desire will be regarded as adhering members, with the privilege of attending the deliberations of the congress and of receiving its publications. Professor Ricardo Levene is president of the Second Congress and communications may be sent through him, or through the secretary, Dr. Mario Belgrano. There will be two general sessions and twenty-three special sessions. The first will consist of the "Concept and interpretation of the history of America and the technique of Bibliography and Libraries" and the second, "Revision of the texts of American history and methodology of teaching." The special sessions relate to the political divisions of the Americas, including Canada, the Guianas, and the United States. Each of the special sessions embrace the study of topics relating to the conquest; political, administrative, constitutional, and parliamentary history; economic history; cultural, literary, and artistic history; military and naval history; religious history; diplomatic history; social history (family, cities, and rural districts); and numismatics. The first congress was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1922.

The new American Documentation Institute, which was organized as the result of a meeting in Washington on March 13 of this year, of delegates from national councils, societies, and other organizations, should be of considerable interest to those interested in Hispanic American history. The board of trustees consists of Dr. Robert C.

Binkley, Western Reserve University; Dr. Solon J. Buck, National Archives; Dr. Watson Davis, Director, Science Service; Dr. James Thayer Gerrould, Librarian, Princeton University; Dr. Ludwig Hektoen, National Research Council. One of the first objectives of the new organization will be the development and application of the new technique of microphotography to library, scholarly, scientific, and other material. It will work toward the publication of scholarly publication by various methods as required by coöperating organizations. The documentation activities of Science Service are to be transferred to the new institute.

The statement on p. 143 of the February issue of this REVIEW, namely, that the *Journals of the late Brevet Major Philip Norbourne Barbour*, etc., were edited by the "granddaughter of the writers" of the journals, should read "granddaughter of Martha Isabella Hopkins and the latter's second husband, John T. Bunch, of Kentucky."

## BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

### NOTES ON RECENT BOOKS AND ARTICLES IN THE HISPANIC AMERICAN FIELD

One of the most important and ambitious undertakings yet launched by the great Spanish publishing house of Espasa-Calpe is the comprehensive *Historia de España* under the general editorship of the eminent Spanish writer and critic Ramón Menéndez Pidal. The work will consist of some sixteen volumes of which only the first six have been assigned definite titles. These are "España Preromana", "España Romana", "España Visigoda", "Oviedo y Córdoba", "León y el Califato de Córdoba", and "El Imperio Leonés y los Reinos Nuevos". For purely editorial reasons the second volume of the series is the first to appear and was published early in 1936. It covers the years 218 B.C. to 409 A.D. compressed into some eight hundred pages and is from the pens of Professors Pedro Bosch Gimpera and Pedro Aguado Bleye. The first part deals with the conquest of Spain by the Romans; the second discusses the institutions of the peninsula as a Roman province; and the third is dedicated to letters and arts. In its general organization the work recalls such coöperative enterprizes as the *Cambridge Modern History* and Lavisson and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*.

In the well known collection "Labor" Professor Miguel Solá of the National School of Fine Arts of Buenos Aires has published an erudite and delightful work entitled *Historia de Arte precolumbiana* (Barcelona, Editorial Labor, S. A. 1936). There are some interesting chapters on the art of the Aztecs, Mayas, Incas, and other pre-Columbian peoples.

The distinguished Spanish physician and statesman, Dr. Gregorio Marañón, has history as one of his avocations. To his well known studies, "Ensayo biológico sobre Enrique IV de Castilla y su Tiempo" and "Las Ideas biológicas del P. Feijóo" he has just added his *El Conde-Duque de Olivares* with the subtitle of "La Pasión de

Mandar" (Buenos Aires, 1936). This is a keen psychological study of the famous minister of Philip IV and an analysis of conditions in Spain during the period of decadence.

Students of American anthropology and ethnology will be grateful to Professor Pablo Martínez del Río of the National University of Mexico for his book *Los Orígenes Americanos* (Mexico, Porrúa Hermanos, 1936). This excellent and scholarly manual, equipped with critical notes and a full index, supplies an admirable summary of the theories regarding the pre-Columbian colonization of America. The author shows himself to be *au courant* of the best literature on the subject.

An unusually vivid account of the exploits of Magellan and other early explorers in the waters of southern Argentina is to be found in the work of Sr. Ernesto Morales in his *Exploradores y Piratas en El Sur Argentino* (Barcelona, 1934). Among the many historical works of Sr. Morales perhaps the best known is his *Sarmiento de Gamboa, un Navegante español del Siglo XVI*.

The late Argentine historian, Enrique Peña, left a valuable library which included an immense amount of documentary material. His son, Sr. Enrique A. Peña, who sometime ago wrote a volume entitled *Fragmentos históricos sobre Temas coloniales*, has published on the occasion of the fourth centenary of the so-called "First Foundation" of Buenos Aires another volume, with the title of *Documentos relativos a la Expedición de D. Pedro de Mendoza* (Buenos Aires, 1936).

Travelers who have visited Europe by bicycle or automobile are familiar with the excellent series of guidebooks issued under the auspices of the Italian Touring Club. The activities of this organization have been extended to South America through the publication of an excellent guide for the Platine republics—*Guida dell' America Latina: Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay* (Milano, Touring Club Italiano 1936). A detailed description of the natural features of these countries is followed by an account of their political and social institutions—this, in addition to the *minutiae* usually found in manuals of the type of Baedeker. Even those unfamiliar with Italian will find the volume very useful.

An extremely critical appraisal of the present régime in Portugal and the dictatorship of Salazar has recently appeared from the pen of a Portuguese exile, Sr. Alfredo Thomé, with the title *A Verdade sobre Portugal* (Rio de Janeiro, Edições "Luzitana", 1936).

An excellent survey of contemporary Portugal with particular reference to social and educational conditions has been published by Paul Descamps with the title of *La Vie sociale actuelle* (Paris, Fermin Didot et Cie, 1935).

One of the results of the recent visit of the president of Brazil to Argentina was the appointment of a committee for the selection of historical works suited for translation from the Portuguese into Spanish and vice versa. As head of the Brazilian committee was appointed Dr. Alfonso de E. Taunay, director of the Museu Paulista, while the Argentine commission is headed by Dr. Ricardo Levene, the well-known historian and former rector of the University of La Plata. Among the works which are to be translated are Mitre, *Arengas*; Ruy Barbosa, *Discursos e Conferencias*; Alberdi, *Capítulos de Historia colonial*; Sarmiento, *Recuerdos de Provincia*; Oliveira Vianna, *Evolução do Povo Brasileiro*; Ramón José Cárcano, *Juan Facundo Quiroga*; Euclides da Cunha, *Os Sertões*.

Under the title of *Etnografía de la Antigua Provincia del Uruguay* (Paraná, Argentina, Talleres Gráficos "Melchior", 1936), Professor Antonio Serrano has written a scholarly and detailed study of the ethnography of the present republic of Uruguay, the present Brazilian states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catharina, and the Argentine Mesopotamia, a region called by the Jesuits "the province of Uruguay". The author is director of the Museum of Entre Ríos and professor of archaeology in the Paraná section of the University of the Littoral. Dr. Serrano is also one of the collaborators in the great *Historia de la Nación Argentina*, being published under the auspices of the Junta de Historia e Numismática Americana of Buenos Aires.

A work of great importance to the students of Argentina during its formative years has been published by the archives of the province of Buenos Aires under the supervision of Dr. Ricardo Levene with the title of *Libro de Sesiones reservadas de la Honorable Junta de*

*Representantes de la Provincia de Buenos Aires* (La Plata, 1936). The documents in question deal with the secret sessions of the provincial junta of Buenos Aires for the years 1822 to 1832 as well as with the constituent congress which sat at various times from 1824 to 1827. Dr. Levene, the honorary director of the historical archives of the Province, contributes a scholarly introduction.

Several years ago, Dr. Ramón José Cárcano, the well-known Argentine historian and at present ambassador to Brazil, wrote a life of one of the most famous or perhaps infamous of the contemporaries of Rosas, entitled *Juan Facundo Quiroga*, for which the author was the recipient of one of the national prizes of literature. This work was translated into Portuguese by Sr. J. Paulo de Medeiros and published in 1935 by the Instituto Argentino-Brasileiro de Cultura. It was designed to be the first of a series of Argentine classics to be made available for Brazilian readers.

The Institución Mitre has rendered a real service through the publication of *El Diario de la Juventud de Mitre* (Buenos Aires, 1936). In the pages of this delightful and interesting work we are able to follow day by day the trials and tribulations of the future president of the republic during the days of his exile. It is a very genuine contribution to the understanding of the character of one of the greatest men of South America. Previous publications of the Institución Mitre include *Mitre, Traductor de Dante* by Dr. Leopoldo Longhi de Bracaglia. The Institución Mitre is planning shortly to publish in two volumes the lectures of Dr. Angel Acuña entitled *Mitre, Historiador* (1936).

New material on San Martín continues to come to light. Dr. José Ortiz de Zevallos Vidaurre y Tagle has published a hundred and three letters which the great hero of independence wrote to the Marquis of Torre Tagle during the latter's residence in Peru. The letters cover the years 1820 to 1822 and appear under the title of *Correspondencia inédita de San Martín* (Buenos Aires, 1936).

Dr. Carlos Ibarguren, one of the most prolific historians of Argentina, has written five delightful biographical essays entitled *Estampas de Argentinos* (Buenos Aires, 1936). The characters treated are Manuel Quintana, Angel Gallardo, José Manuel Estrada, Vicente Fidel López, and José María Ramos Mejia.

One of the most notable memoirs yet to be published in Argentina has just been given to the press by Ezequiel Ramos Mexía with the title of *Mis Memorias* (Buenos Aires, 1936). The author will be remembered for his activity in developing the natural resources of Argentina in the last decades of the nineteenth century and the opening years of the present. He was minister of public works under Roca, Figueroa Alcorta, and Sáenz Peña. He also performed many other important functions. With the advent of the radical government he withdrew from politics. The present book embraces an entire epoch of Argentine history and will be welcomed by all students of the period.

The number of excellent regional histories of Argentina is increasing. The most recent is that by Sr. Oscar Rebaudi Basavilbaso entitled *Jujuy* (Buenos Aires, 1935). The first part of this book is confined to the history of the province and deals largely with the rôle which Jujuy played in the wars of independence. The second part is purely descriptive and gives one an excellent idea of the beauties of this comparatively little known province.

In 1934, the well-known Argentine historian, Enrique de Gandía, published a work entitled *Historia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra—Una nueva República en Sudamérica*. As was natural this book aroused great resentment in Bolivia, one of the results of which was the publication by Sr. Plácido Molina M. of *Observaciones y Rectificaciones a la "Historia de Santa Cruz de la Sierra. Una nueva República en Sudamérica"* (La Paz, Imprenta y Litografía "Urania", 1936).

The European background of the various expeditions which ultimately led to the founding of Buenos Aires has been carefully studied by Dr. Gandía in his *Antecedentes diplomáticos de las Expediciones de Juan Díaz de Solís, Sebastián Gaboto y D. Pedro de Mendoza* (Buenos Aires, 1936). The monograph is based almost entirely on hitherto unused documents.

The most famous of the Argentine historical societies is without doubt the Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana. Its secretary, Dr. Gandía, has written an extremely useful *Breve Noticia histórica* (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1935). This work con-

tains not only the history of this organization, which was founded in 1893 with General Mitre as its first president, but also a complete list of the publications of the society and a directory of the members both corresponding and "de Número". Of the former there are six in the United States.

After an interruption of three years, the *Boletín de la Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana* has resumed publication under the directorship of Sr. Rómulo Zabala, and appears as Tomo VIII, Año VIII-X (Buenos Aires, 1936). This stout volume contains the lectures, some twenty-eight all told, delivered before the Junta in 1931, 1932, and 1933. Among the lecturers appear the names of such eminent scholars, writers, and critics as Dr. Ramón J. Cárcano, Professor Mario Belgrano, Mr. Philip Guedalla, Dr. Enrique de Gandía, Dr. Rodolfo Rivarola, Dr. Ricardo Levene, Dr. Ricardo Rojas, and Sr. Máximo Soto Hall. Seldom has a single work appeared in the domain of Argentine historiography containing contributions by so many distinguished writers.

Dr. Enrique Finot, former minister of Bolivia in Washington, and now minister of foreign affairs, has just written a book on Bolívar in which he attempts the somewhat ungrateful task of portraying the Liberator as a pacifist. The scope of the book, which is entitled *Bolívar Pacifista* (New York, 1936), is indicated by the following chapter headings: Nueva interpretación de la personalidad del Libertador—El pacifismo práctico de Bolívar—Bolívar y su Sociedad de las Naciones—Bolívar y la organización de la paz—Bolívar y las conquistas del derecho internacional en America. The book has for a subtitle, "Orígenes de la Coöperación Internacional en América".

A collection of the most notable speeches and publications of the Bolivian statesman and diplomat, Sr. Eduardo Díez de Medina, has been made by Sr. Javier Paz Campero and published under the title of *Problemas Internacionales* (La Paz, 1936). Most of the items deal with the late Paraguayan war.

On the centenary of the birth of Viscount of Ouro Preto (1836-1936), the Instituto Historico de Ouro Preto had the happy idea of publishing an *Homenagem* containing biographical data, anecdotal material, and a number of excellent illustrations (Rio de Janeiro, Officinas Graphicas do *Jornal do Brasil*, 1936).

As is well known the inquisition was never established in Brazil. On various occasions, however, the Holy Office was represented by a so-called "Visitação" of which the first took place in 1591. A detailed account of this "visit" has been published by the Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu, under the title of *Primeira Visitação do Santo Ofício as Partes do Brasil*—Pelo licenciado Heitor Furtado de Mendonça, capellão fidalgo del rey nosso Senhor e no seu desembargo, deputado do Santo Ofício (Rio de Janeiro, edição da Sociedade Capistrano de Abreu, 1935).

Students of the constitutional history of Brazil will welcome a publication issued under the auspices of the ministry of justice entitled *Legislação do Governo Provisorio*, collected and annotated by Sr. Affonso Duarte Ribeiro. This work of some nine hundred pages falls into two divisions: decrees of the provisional government and legislation cited in the text of the decrees. It contains an excellent index (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936).

The well-known diplomat and writer, Sr. Helio Lobo, has just published a voluminous work entitled *Docas de Santos, suas Origens, Lutas e Realizações* (Rio de Janeiro, *Jornal do Commercio*, 1936). This is a fully documented history of the construction of the enormous series of wharves at Santos which have played such an important part in the development of the great coffee state of São Paulo. The work is an important contribution to both the economic and political history of Brazil.

New light on the Brazilian slave trade has come from an unexpected quarter. Father Dieudonné Rinchon, a Belgian missionary belonging to the Capuchin Order has just written *La Traité et l'esclavage des Congolais par les Européens* with the subtitle "Histoire de la Déportation de Treize Millions deux cent cinquante mille noirs en Amérique" (Bruxelles, 1936). This is really a notable work containing a mass of information which hitherto has escaped historians. It is particularly rich in material on the activities of the Portuguese in Africa during the latter fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

A brief, but excellent, account of the activities of one of the greatest diplomats under the Brazilian Empire is given by Sr. Jarbas de Carvalho in his work, *O Marquez de Abrantes e a Diplomacia Bra-*

sileira (Rio de Janeiro, Companhia de Impressão e Propaganda S. A., 1935).

Dr. Augusto O. Gomes de Castro, a member of the supreme court and professor of the University of Rio de Janeiro, has just published an excellent treatise with the title of *O Novo Código Eleitoral* (Rio de Janeiro, A. Coelho Branco Filho, editor, 1936). It is the opinion of Dr. Gomes that the electoral code is the finest legacy of the revolution of 1930 and alone would have justified this movement.

Interest in the Comte d'Eu continues unabated in Brazil. It will be recalled that two excellent biographies have appeared within the past three years, namely *O Conde d'Eu* by Luis da Camara Cascudo (São Paulo, 1933) and *Gastão de Orleans o Último Conde d'Eu* by Alberto Rangel (São Paulo, 1935). Under the editorship of Dr. Max Fleiuss, perpetual secretary of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute, has been published the *Viagem Militar ao Rio Grande do Sul do Conde d'Eu* (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1936). This consists of some nineteen letters written by the count in 1865.

Under the title of *A Intellectualidade no Extremo Norte* (Manáus, Livraria Classica J. J. Camara, 1934), Sr. Anisio Jobim has published biographies of some one hundred and fifty notables of Amazonas beginning with Father Noronha, a chronicler of the eighteenth century, and coming down to our day. The book graphically sets forth the intellectual life in this remote section of Brazil.

A series of interesting studies of sixteenth-century Brazil is that of L. Amaral Gurgel entitled *Ensaios Quinhentistas* (Rio de Janeiro, Alba, editora, 1936). The book treats of the capitaincy of São Paulo with particular reference to João Ramalho, and the coming of the Jesuits.

An interesting, but somewhat lyrical, account of the exploits of the Portuguese navigators in the sixteenth century is given by Augusto Casimiro in his *Cartilha Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, Edição da Sociedade Luso-Africana do Rio da Janeiro, 1936).

The Paulista writer, Sr. Antonio Gontijo de Carvalho, in his *Vultos da Republica* (São Paulo, Empresa Graphica da Revista dos Tribunaes, 1936) has evoked with both charm and vividness three notable figures of the early days of the Brazilian Republic: namely, David Campista, Carlos Peixoto, and Gastão da Cunha. Sr. Gontijo de Carvalho made his debut as a writer in 1935 with an excellent biography of the late Pandiá Calogeras.

From the articles of the late João Ribeiro, the distinguished historian and member of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, has been assembled a number of studies dealing with the Negro in Brazil under the title of *O Elemento Negro. Historia, Folklore, Linguistica.* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora Record, 1936).

Students of the legal history of Brazil will welcome the appearance of Volume I of *Direito Administrativo* by Dr. José Mattos de Vasconcellos (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936). The author, who is both professor in the University of the Federal District and member of the Tribunal de Contas, has long specialized in international law.

In his *Vida e Obra do Barão de Macahubas* (Rio de Janeiro, Edições "Infancia e Juventude", 1936), Sr. Isias Alves has given us an interesting account of the life and activities of one of the foremost educators of the middle of the last century.

Sr. P. Matta Machado has published the addresses which he delivered before the constituent assembly of 1934, under the title of *Pequenos Quadros da Vida Brasileira* (Bello Horizonte, Oliveira, Costa & C., Officinas Graphicas, 1936). In the course of these studies the author deals with most of the economic and social problems of contemporary Brazil.

Several notable historical works, which are being published chapter by chapter in the Rio de Janeiro press, will appear in book form sometime in 1937. The first of these by Vice-Admiral A. C. de Souza e Silva, entitled *O Almirante Saldanha e a Revolta da Armada*, is written by a participant in the tragic events of 1893-1894 and is based in part on hitherto unused documentary sources. The second work is *Cotegipe e Seu Tempo* by Sr. Wanderley Pinho, a descendant of the famous conservative prime minister in the last days of the empire.

One of the important secondary figures in the Paraguayan war was Dr. Francisco Pinheiro Guimarães, a physician, professor, and man of letters who rose to a position on the general staff of Caxias and the Conde d'Eu. The biography of Dr. Guimarães has been written with charm and competency by his son, Sr. Pinheiro Guimarães, under the title of *Um Voluntario da Patria* (Rio de Janeiro, Officinas Graficas S. A. "A Noite", 1936). Apart from its biographical interest, the work contains valuable material on the war as a whole.

The activities of the important Paulista contingent in the constituent assembly of 1933, is set forth in a work of six hundred and fifty-three pages entitled *A Ação da Bancada Paulista "Por São Paulo Unido" Na Assemblea Constituinte—O Programma da "Chapa Unica" e a nova Constituição* (São Paulo, Imprensa Official do Estado, 1935).

Among the papers left by the late Humberto de Campos, one of the most noted figures in the intellectual life of Brazil, were a large number of biographical sketches. These have been assembled and published in two volumes by Sr. Enrique de Campos under the title of *Perfis (Chronicas) 1a e 2a series* (São Paulo, Livraria José Olympio, 1936). Among those whose biographies appear are Wenceslao Braz, Felix Pacheco, Lauro Müller, Pandiá Calogeras, Cardinal Sebastião Leme, and João Ribeiro.

Under the somewhat illusive title of *Aspectos do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Editora "A Noite", 1936), Sr. Celso Vieira of the Brazilian Academy of Letters has published a number of essays ranging from Japanese immigration to the historian Rocha Pombo.

The eminent historian and jurist, Dr. Rodrigo Octavio, has published the third and last of his series entitled *Minhas Memorias dos Outros* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1936). This series, one of the most remarkable collections of biographical studies which has yet appeared, will be reviewed in a later number of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

An interesting attempt to interpret the history of Brazil from the sociological point of view has been written by Sr. José Maria Bello in his *Panorama do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, José Olympio, Editora, 1936).

Life at the courts of Dom João VI, Dom Pedro I, and Dom Pedro II exercises a great fascination over many Brazilian historians. The latest work on this subject is by Sr. A. C. d'Araujo Guimarães, *A Corte no Brasil, Figuras e Aspectos* (Porto Alegre, Livraria do Globo 1936). It is divided into four parts dealing respectively with the life at the courts of the three Braganza monarchs and a section entitled "Esplendor Fluminense".

The seventh volume of *Annaes do Museu Paulista* (São Paulo, Imprensa Official do Estado São Paulo, 1936) is entirely devoted to contributions of the eminent Paulista historian, Dr. Affonso de E. Taunay. Their respective titles are "Historia da Cidade de São Paulo (Tomo Terceiro)", "No Brasil de 1840", "De Brasiliae Rebus Pluribus", and "Em Santa Catharina Colonial".

An important event in the intellectual annals of Brazil during the year 1936 was the induction on October 9 of the eminent historian, Dr. Pedro Calmon, into the Brazilian Academy of Letters as successor to the late Felix Pacheco. Dr. Calmon has to his credit a long list of important historical works of which frequent mention has been in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

On November 8, 1934, died probably the most distinguished Brazilian physician of his day, Dr. Carlos Chagas. For many years this eminent scientist had labored for the cause of public health. Partly for this reason, a collection of his speeches *Discursos e Conferencias* (Rio de Janeiro, Officinas Graphicas S. A. "A Noite", 1936) has more than a professional interest. It is characteristic of the writer that in the first speech in this collection is an ardent defense of Dr. Miguel Pereira who is the object of a "patriotic" attack for having declared that "Brazil is a vast hospital". The historian will find much of value in this posthumous work.

The Brazilian novelist, Sr. Sud Mennucci, has written an interesting work on a relatively neglected phase of the social evolution of Brazil: *Pelo Sentido ruralista da Civilização* (São Paulo, Empresa Graphica da Revista do Tribunaes, 1935).

The Associação dos Geógrafos Brasileiros of São Paulo launched in 1935 a quarterly review entitled *Geografia*. Though edited by a

committee the majority of which are professors of geography, the review is non-technical and popular in character. In the last number published in 1935, for instance, are several articles dealing with purely geographical topics and two long articles entitled respectively "Immigração e Colonização" and "A Industrial Textil Paulista". The former deals almost entirely with Japanese immigration into Brazil which is warmly defended by its author. The review is published by Edições Cultura Brasileira, Caixa Postal, 3675, São Paulo, and its yearly subscription is \$2.00 (American currency).

The last volume of the *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro* (Volume 167, Rio Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1936), contains two contributions of exceptional interest. The first is a 250 page monograph by Sr. Magalhães Corrêa, written especially for the review entitled *O Sertão Carioca*. It consists of a vast repository of information on the geography, ethnography, and botany of the Federal District. It is accompanied by a large number of maps and illustrations. The second contribution is a reprint of the famous work of the scholar, Theodoro Sampaio, entitled *O Rio São Francisco e a Chapada Dismantina*, which was published some fifty years ago and for a long time has been out of print. It contains an excellent account of the São Francisco River Basin and adjacent territory. An appreciative introduction by the secretary of the Historical Institute, Dr. Max Fleiuss, makes clear the importance of this work.

The Brazilian journalist Sr. Pizarro Loureiro discusses the liquidation of the war between Bolivia and Paraguay in his brochure *La Conferencia de Paz del Chaco* (Rio de Janeiro, Rousol e Cia, 1936).

The personality of the present minister of foreign affairs of Brazil is set forth by Sr. Silveira de Menezes in an interesting brochure entitled *Macedo Soares, Estadista e Diplomata—Retrato Psychologico do Ministro de Estado Macedo Soares* (Rio de Janeiro, Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1936), pp. 35.

The brilliant young sociologist, Sr. Gilberto Freyre, whose book *Casa-Grande & Senzala*, published in 1934 is one of the most remarkable works ever written on the colonial era, has been appointed director of a new series entitled "Collecção Documentos Brasileiros" pub-

lished in Rio de Janeiro by José Olympio. The first volume to appear is by Dr. Sergio Buarque de Hollanda entitled *Raizes do Brasil* (1936). The scope of the work is indicated by the following chapter headings: Fronteiras da Europa, Trabalho e Aventura, O Passado Agrario, O Homen Cordial, Novos Tempos, and Nossa Revolução.

Interesting sidelights on the new constitution of Brazil appear in a dissertation presented to the law faculty of Rio de Janeiro by Sr. Filipe Jacob entitled *Os Dois Clássicos Regimenes e o Novo Direito Constitucional* (Rio de Janeiro, Typ. do Jornal do Commercio, 1936).

A new historical review has just been launched in Brazil under the title of *Boletim do Centro de Estudos Históricos*. The sponsors of this quarterly are for the most part professors in the leading secondary schools of Rio de Janeiro. The editor-in-chief is Professor Eremindo Luiz Vianna. The first issue of the *Boletim* contains a statement of the scope and character of the new publication, a long article, entitled "Historia da Lexicografia Brasileira", by Professor Renato Mendonça, a number of book reviews, a bibliographical section, which includes the important articles appearing in other reviews of interest to the historian, and finally a brief résumé of the contents of the *Boletim* in French. The review is published by the Archivo Nacional, Praça da Republica 26, Rio de Janeiro, and the foreign subscription is \$2.50 per year.

In 1636, Count Maurice of Nassau-Siegen became governor of Dutch Brazil. On the third centenary of this event have been published a considerable number of articles and brochures. Of the latter one of the most important is from the pen of the historian, Dr. Barbosa Lima Sobrinho, entitled *O Centenario da Chegada de Nassau* (Recife, Imprensa Official, 1936).

The *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* of Cuba for the year 1934 (Tomo XXXIII, Nums. 1-6) has just been issued under the direction of Captain Joaquín Llaverías, chief of the National Archives (La Habana, Imp. Pérez Sierra, 1936). Among the items of greatest interest may be mentioned "Contribución a la Historia de la Prensa Periódica" dealing chiefly with newspapers of the early nineteenth century, "Epistolario de la Revolución de 1895", and a very interesting doc-

ument contributed by Sr. Carlos M. Trelles entitled "Sobre la Prohibición del Gobierno Español a los Jóvenes Cubanos de Estudiar en los Estados Unidos de América y en Francia".

The ideals and aims of the Partido Revolucionario Cubano, the so-called "Auténticos", are convincingly and lucidly set forth by Dr. Ramón Grau San Martín in *La Revolución Cubano ante América* (Mexico, Ediciones del Partido Revolucionario Cubano (Auténticos), 1936). This booklet contains three lectures delivered by the former president of Cuba in the Centro de Estudios Pedagógicos e Hispano-Americanos of Panamá under the titles of "La Economía", "La Vida Social", and "La Política". There is also a lengthy "Definición de la Doctrina Política Auténtica". Students of conditions in Cuba following the overthrow of Machado will find the book indispensable.

M. Dantes Bellegarde, former delegate of Haiti to the League of Nations, delivered in April, 1936, four lectures in the University of Puerto Rico under the auspices of the Ibero American Institute of the University. These lectures have as their respective titles: "Haiti and Its People", "The Population and the Economic Life of Haiti", "The Economic Life of the Republic of Haiti", and "Haiti and International Cooperation". Professor Richard Pattee, the Director of the Ibero American Institute, has written an appreciative foreword. The lectures appear as No. 1, Series VII of *The University of Puerto Rico Bulletin*, September, 1936.

Students of Mexican history have long been familiar with the excellent series called *Archivo Histórico Diplomático Mexicano*. The latest volume in this series (Number XXXX) is Tomo III of *La Anexión de Centro América a México (Documentos y escritos de 1821-1822)* by the well-known bibliophile, Rafael Heliodoro Valle. It contains three hundred and forty-six documents covering the period 1812 to 1822. An excellent analytical index facilitates the use of this material.

The former Mexican Ambassador to Argentina, Dr. J. M. Puig Casauranc, has written an excellent interpretation of Mexican history under the title of *El Sentido Social del Proceso Histórico de México (Un Ensayo de Interpretación)* (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos

Tuduri, 1935). The work is of especial importance as it represents the ideology of the government now in power.

Dr. Juan B. Sacasa, former president of Nicaragua, has given his own version of the events which led to his overthrow in a brochure entitled *Como y Por Que Caí del Poder* (San Salvador, Privately printed, 1936).

During the year 1936, the literature in French on Mexico was enriched by two works of considerable interest, both published in Paris. The first of these by Marc Chadourne, *Anahuac ou l'Indien sans plumes* is a somewhat impressionistic account of the indigenous elements now residing in the central part of the republic. The more important work is that of the French anthropologist, Jacques Soustelle, *Le Mexique, terre indienne*. It is in effect a valuable and non-technical account of the social and economic status of the present Indian inhabitants of Mexico, based on careful first-hand study. M. Soutrelle, who is assistant to the well-known ethnologist, Professor Rivet, has made two scientific expeditions to Mexico the results of which appeared in erudite monographs on the Otomies and the Lancandones. His latest work merits a detailed treatment in THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

A satisfactory survey of the international relations of Central America, with particular reference to Nicaragua, has been written by Dr. Emilio Alvarez under the title of *Ensayo histórico sobre el Derecho Constitucional de Nicaragua* (Managua, 1936). The first part of the book covers in a general way the history of Nicaragua from the standpoint of constitutional law, while the second part consists of the texts of some thirty important documents.

The well-known monograph of Professor P. H. Box of King's College, London, on the origin of the Paraguayan war, has just been translated into Spanish by Professor Pablo Max Ynsfran of Asunción under the title of *Los Orígenes de la Guerra del Paraguay contra la Triple Alianza* (Asunción, La Colmena S. A., 1936).

Partly in support of his theory that the American race is autochthonous, the Peruvian archaeologist, Víctor Larco Herrera, has

written an interesting book with the title of *Cobrizos, Blancos y Negros, Aborigenes de América* (Santiago, Imprenta Nascimiento, 1934). Sr. Larco will be remembered as the founder of the Peruvian Archaeological Museum in Lima.

Among those who have interested themselves in the welfare of the Indians of Peru, Señora Dora Mayer de Zulen stands at the forefront. Her latest work is entitled *La Intangibilidad de las Comunidades Indígenas* (Callao, Chenyek, 1936).

On the basis of documents in the Archivo General de Indias covering the years 1538 to 1570, Sr. Víctor M. Barriga has published an interesting work on religious conditions in early colonial Peru with the title of *Los Mercedarios en el Perú en el Siglo XVI* (Roma, Boletín de la Orden de la Merced, 1933. Tomo I). Though dealing primarily with the activity of the Mercedarians, the work contains valuable details on the famous quarrel between Almagro and Francisco Pizarro, the latter's murder, and the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro.

Material on the history of Peru's foremost institution of learning during the colonial period is supplied by Sr. David Rubio in *La Universidad de San Marcos de Lima durante La Colonización Española* (Madrid, Juan Bravo, 1933).

Sr. Conrado Asenjo has issued the second edition of his excellent *Quién es Quién en Puerto Rico* (San Juan, Real Hermanos Inc. 1936). The work consists of the biographies of several hundred of the most prominent men and women in Puerto Rico, together with indices in which these persons are classified by profession and by the higher institutions of learning from which they have graduated. The work is a model of its kind.

The well-known Uruguayan historian, Professor Pablo Blanco Acevedo, has rescued from partial obscurity one of the most prominent figures in the early history of Argentina in his monograph entitled *El Doctor Nicolás Herrera en la Independencia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, Casa Editora Coni, 1936). Dr. Herrera was minister of foreign relations of the government of Posadas during which active negotiations were carried on for the establishment of a monarchy in the former viceroyalty of La Plata. In these intrigues, Donna Carlotta Joaquina, wife of Dom João VI, figured prominently.

The veteran Uruguayan historian, Dr. Eduardo Acevedo (born 1857), has just brought to completion the most comprehensive history of his country ever undertaken. *The Anales Históricos del Uruguay* (six vols., Montevideo, Casa A. Barreiro y Ramos, 1933-1936) carry the story from the voyage of Juan Díaz de Solís in 1512 to the election of Campisteguy in 1930. Volume VI, published in 1936, covers the period 1915-1930 and in addition has long chapters on such topics as economics and administration.

Interest in Artigas shows little abatement in Uruguay. On September 23, 1936, the well-known Uruguayan historian, Telmo Manacorda, delivered an address entitled *Artigas* (Montevideo, Imprenta Militar, 1936). The importance of this address lies chiefly in the excerpts from hitherto unprinted letters of Artigas preserved in the provincial archives of Paraná, Province of Corrientes.

Perhaps the most repulsive figure in all the wars of independence is a certain Boves, the so-called "Lion of the Llanos", and the implacable enemy of Bolívar. The Spanish writer, Luis Bermúdez de Castro, has attempted a partial rehabilitation of this man in his *Bobes o el León de los Llanos* (Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, 1934).

Under the intriguing title of *Tapices de Historia Patria* (Caracas, Parra León Hermanos, 1934), the Venezuelan historian, Sr. Mario Briceño-Iragorry, has written a convincing defense of the activities of Spain in colonial Venezuela. It is another nail driven into the coffin of the "Leyenda Negra".

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## MANUSCRIPT HISPANIC AMERICANA IN THE HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY

The Harvard College Library has never specialized in the acquisition of manuscripts, but the gifts of loyal and often historically important alumni and friends, and many purchases of libraries formed by private collectors, have made it the owner of considerable amounts of such materials. The pieces of Hispanic American interest, scattered and relatively few, have remained almost unnoticed. Believing that they would be useful to many investigators were their existence known, the following inventory has been prepared. Unlike my previous list of such manuscript in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library of Chicago,<sup>1</sup> which was selective by plan and too hastily prepared, this inventory includes in some manner every item which could interest the historian of any part of Spanish or Portuguese America, so far as the content of the Harvard manuscripts can be known or even suspected from the catalogue entries. A few possible omissions are carefully indicated below.

The library describes its manuscripts, individually or by collections, on filing cards grouped together in the general catalogue.<sup>2</sup> My

<sup>1</sup> In *THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, X. (February, 1930), 113-118.

<sup>2</sup> The following imprints have limited value for users of the present list: Harvard College Library. *Bibliographical Contributions*.

No. 6. Collection of books and autographs bequeathed . . . by the Honorable Charles Sumner (Cambridge, 1879).

No. 8. Calendar of the Arthur Lee Manuscripts . . . (Cambridge, 1882).

No. 22. Calendar of the Sparks manuscripts . . . with an appendix showing other manuscripts (Cambridge, 1889).

C[utter], C[harles] A. Catalogue of the Library of Jared Sparks; with a list of historical manuscripts . . . now deposited in the Library of Harvard University (Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1871).

Palha, Fernando. Catalogue de la bibliothèque de . . . (4 vol.; Lisbonne, 1896).

Robertson, James A. List of documents in Spanish archives relating to . . . the United States, which have been printed or of which transcripts are preserved in American libraries (Washington, 1910).

The first of these lists a number of Spanish documents, but none that concern America. The two that describe the Sparks manuscripts add no relevant information to this present inventory. The others have some details not given here.

list was largely prepared before I removed from Boston in 1925, by inspecting the thousands of separate cards and noting all that had, or seemed likely to have, Hispanic American interest. On subsequent visits I have tried to bring the list up to date and to examine items the nature of which was not clear. My last visit was in 1935. Future trips are so uncertain that I judge it best to publish the list now, although there are a few entries which I should have preferred to examine and describe more fully. The only entirely unknown items are the three following collections, which seem to concern Europe, but have not been seen:

- (a) Collection of Spanish manuscripts on social, legal and economic matters in Spain. 1567-1833.  
Folio. [MS Span. 40.22F\*]
- (b) Cartas y otros papeles. [Spanish historical and ecclesiastical documents of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.]  
Quarto. 12, 339 pp. Copies. [MS Span. 1\*]
- (c) Inquisition. Relacion de los sueldos que gozan los SSres Inquisidores y ministros titulados del Santo Oficio, y los salarios anuales que se pagan, como tambien los gastos ordinarios que anualmente se pagan, con distinción, es como se sigue. 1752-1773 (or 1774). [MS Span. 8F\*]

In using this inventory, three points must be kept in mind. First, doctoral theses which have been published have often been much revised from the manuscript versions listed here, and sometimes have variant titles. Secondly, this list treats only of the manuscripts in the Harvard College Library, better known as the Widener Library. There are to my knowledge others in the Peabody Museum and the Baker Library of the School of Business Administration. It is my hope to list them and any others in the various libraries of Harvard University at some future time, together with those of other libraries in Greater Boston. Third, the presence or absence of analytical, bibliographical, or other comment in the inventory is no proper indication of the need of such comment. My distance from Cambridge has made it impossible to complete that part of the work. The documents have been numbered by myself in order to facilitate research. The numbers are, of course, not in the documents. The list follows.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

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at Los Angeles.

## I

## LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

## A. AMERICA AS A WHOLE

This section includes items on the Americas or Spanish America, as a whole, or as to more than one of the subdivisions below. *See also* Document No. 51; and Map No. 103.

1. Rome. Vatican Archives. *Documenta selecta et tabulario secreto vaticano, quae romanorum pontificum erga Americae populos curam ac studia tum ante tum paulo post insulas a Christophoro Columbo repertas testantur phototypia descripta.* [Rome], 1893.

Folio; 5, 44 pp.

[U. S. 2237.20F]

This facsimile reproduction of eleven documents concerning the history of the Roman Church in Norse America, 835-1492/3, was edited by J. C. Heywood as a contribution to the World's Fair at Chicago. It is listed among the Harvard manuscripts, and therefore is included here, although an edition of twenty-five copies was published. It is printed entire in the *Catholic Historical Review*, III. (1917/1918) 210-227.

2. Bernáldez, Andrés. *Historia de los reyes Católicos . . . sacado de un codice antiguo que tiene en su poder don O[badiah] Rich.* 1514.

Folio. *See* Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella*, II. 108. [Span. 500.1\*]

3. Columbus Family. *Testimonios notariales de los actos relativos al descubrimiento de los restos de Cristóbal Colón, y de Luís Colón, 1877-1880.*

Nine documents in 1 vol. [MS. Span. 3]

4. Portugal-Crown. *Copia de una lettere del re di Portogalla mandata al re di Castello del viagio del India.* [15—]

Folio; 11 pp.

[MS. Ital. 4]

5. Miscellaneous American Papers. One volume, including, as of Hispanic American interest:

(1493) Papal grant of America to Spain.

(1607) Spanish maxims concerning America.

(1630) Treaty of Madrid.

(1734) Population of the West Indies.

(1740) Cartagena expedition.

[Sparks MSS 5, I]

6. Hamilton, Earl J. *History of Money and Prices in Andalucia, 1503-1660.* (Ph.D. Thesis, 1928.) [Published]

7. Haring, Clarence Henry. *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies in the time of the Hapsburgs.* (Ph.D. Thesis, 1916.) [Published]

8. Tobacco Scrapbook. (Plates and newspaper clippings, with manuscript copies of early works on tobacco.)

[H 5441.75.5\*]

9. Carreño y Ribera Family (of Seville). *Papers of (c. 1550-c. 1635).*

Folio; c. 90 manuscript documents, and several copies of each of two imprints. Mostly original; frequently with royal or other signatures and seals.

[MS. Span. 41F]

This volume was presented by the Monks of Mons to John à Gade, one of Hoover's aides in the World War, and by him given to the Harvard Library in 1933. It contains papers of Bartolomé Carreño (c. 1500-c. 1565), his son Francisco Carreño y Ribera (c. 1520-1579) and the latter's son and grandson, also named Francisco. Bartolomé was an inspector and reformer of American shipping, General de la Armada de las Indias (c. 1552), etc. The first Francisco was a prominent seaman, Almirante of the flota of Pedro Menéndez de Avila (1573) and Governor of Cuba (1577-1579). The other men were apparently merchants of Seville with American interests.

There are many mentions of Mexico, Peru, Cuba, and Puerto Rico throughout the papers, and a number of "Relaciones de Servicios", and related papers, as to the earlier two men. Papers of broader interest include:

- (a) Rules for improving "visitas de las naves y armadores que van á las yndias". (N. d.; mid sixteenth century.)
  - (b) "Trasliado de la ynstrucción y nueva ordenanza . . . para el gobierno de la rreal armada de la guarda y carrera de las yndias . . . del Cappa General el adelantado Pedro Menéndez de avila [sic]". Año de 1573.
  - (c) Lists of "gente", equipment, prices, etc., for some oversea fleet. (N. d.; sixteenth century.)
10. Ingram, David. Relaçōn of . . . in travelinge by land [from] the baye of Mexico [to] Cape Britton, in August and September, Ao Dni, 1582.  
Copy. [Sparks MSS. 30 (1)]
- Copied for Sparks (1841) from the British Museum, Sloane MS. 1447. The Library of Congress has a copy of the same version, and a very small edition of it was printed by Plowden Charles Gennett Weston, in his *Documents connected with the History of South Carolina* (London, 1856). This or another version was also printed in Richard Hakluyt, *Principall Navigations* (London, 1589), Pt. 3, pp. 557-562, but not in later editions. Another version (Bodleian Library, Tanner MSS. 79) was printed with an introduction by B. F. de Costa in the *Magazine of American History*, IX. (1883) 168-176, 200-208. De Costa notes the variants from the Hakluyt version. Cf.: Winsor, *Critical and Narrative History*, III. 64, 170, 186.
11. [Hakluyt the Elder (?)]. Inducements to the lykinge of the voyage . . . to America . . . [1585].  
Copy. [Sparks MSS. 30 (2)]

Copied for Sparks (1841) from the British Museum, Sloane MS. 1447. The Sparks Catalog gives no author's name, but it is undoubtedly the "Inducements to the liking of the voyage intended towards Virginia . . . written 1585 by . . . Hakluyt", which is printed in: John Brereton, *A Briefe and True Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia . . . With divers instructions of speciall moment newly added in this second impression*. (London: Georg. Bishop, 1602) pp. 25-36. Unlike Richard Hakluyt the Younger's famous "Discourse on Westerne Planting", this has only indirect interest for Spanish America.

*Cf.*: Winsor, *op. cit.*, III. 187, 189. But Winsor fails to distinguish between the twelve leaf first issue which he lists (copies now known: Huntington, John

Carter Brown, Library of Congress) and the twenty-four leaf second issue (copies now known: Huntington, Harvard, John Carter Brown, Lenox, Ayer, British Museum, and one held by Quaritch of London in 1932). Only the second issue has the "Inducements".

Unlike the Ingram "Relaçõn" (*supra*) this present item is not printed in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations* (1589).

12. Castro Daire, Conde de (Collector). *Armadas. Collecção de documentos impressas e manuscriptas relativos as armadas de Portugal.* 1588 a 1633.  
3 vol.

[MS. Port. 4794F]

*Palha Cat.*, No. 147.

A group of documents nearly indispensable for students of the equipment and administration of Hispanic fleets from the time of the Great Armada. There is almost as much on Spanish as on Portuguese affairs, including some few American.

13. Spanish American Colonies. Collection of ecclesiastical treatises, encyclicals, bulls, and proclamations. Seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.  
Folio; 4 vol.

[S A 330.01 F\*]

These volumes include both manuscript and printed items. They concern chiefly Mexico and Peru.

14. Jourdan [Latin: *Jordanus*], Adrien. *Tertia pars totius mundi. Descriptio Africæ . . . Quarta pars totius mundi . . . Descriptio Americæ.* (N.p., n.d.; mid seventeenth century.)

Quarto; 65 pp., 3 maps.

[MA 17.50]

Given to the Library by E. E. Eliot, in 1823. The text is manuscript, but the two American maps—North America and South America—seem to be engraved ones, by Nicolas Sanson, 1650.

15. American War for Independence—Spanish Aspects.

The Harvard Library has considerable amounts of material on the Spanish angles of the diplomacy of the American Revolution in the Sparks and Arthur Lee manuscripts (*supra*, for catalogues). The Lee manuscripts (8 vol., 1741-1790) include much on Lee's career as American agent in Spain (1776-1779) but it is the present writer's opinion, based on use of them some years ago, that anything of importance for Spanish American historians has been published in Richard Henry Lee, *Life of Arthur Lee* (2 vol., Boston, 1829), or in Sparks or Wharton's "Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution". It is worth noting that others of Lee's papers are possessed by the University of Virginia and the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. [Winsor, *op. cit.*, VIII. 455.]

The Sparks collection includes English, French, and other diplomatic correspondence, which sometimes has interest for Spanish activities in America. It has also the following strictly Hispanic materials:

- (a) Grantham, Thomas Robinson, 2d Baron (1738-1786). Correspondence with the home government, 1776-1779, from Spain.

2 vol., copies. — [Sparks MSS. 23]

- (b) Pollock, Oliver. Correspondence of, at New Orleans, 1776-1782. Copied from originals then in the Department of State.

[Sparks MSS. 41 (1)]

- (c) *Spanish papers on the American Revolution, 1776-1782.*  
 2 vol.; copied from Madrid archives (in 1854). [Sparks MSS. 95]
- (d) *Spanish papers on the American Revolution, 1776-1780.*  
 1 vol.; copied from the Simancas archives. [Sparks MSS. 96]
- (e) Aranda and Floridablanca. Papers concerning the Revolution, 1776-1780.  
 1 vol.; copied or translated from Spanish originals. [Sparks MSS. 102]
- (f) Miralles and Rendón. Letters to the Governor of Havana, 1778-1780.  
 1 vol.; originals. [Sparks MSS. 97]
- (g) Luzerne, Chevalier de la. Memorial to Congress, 1779. [Sparks MSS. 49 (17)]
- (h) Rendón, Francisco. Correspondence with Gálvez. Philadelphia, 1780-1781.  
 1 vol.; originals. [Sparks MSS. 98, II]
- (i) Rendón, Miralles, and Bernardo Gálvez. Letters and memorials concerning their activities, 1780-1783.  
 2 vol.; partly copied from manuscript then owned by Ternaux-Compans. [Sparks MSS. 100, 101]
16. Aranda, Conde de. Dictámen reservada . . . al Rey sobre la independencia de las colonias inglesas . . . 1783. [Sparks MSS. 13 (15), 49 (16)]

The full text of this document was first (!) printed by Andrés Muriel in his edition of William Coxe, *L'Espagne sous les Rois de la Maison de Bourbon* (Paris, 1827), VI. 45-54. Muriel found the manuscript in the collection of the Duque de San Fernando. It has since been printed from a copy in the Archives of the Indies (Estado, América en general, 6) in the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, I. No. 2 (1913) 53-57. There are other manuscript copies in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MSS. 12966 (33) and 13228 (1). The Sparks copy was obtained from the Madrid archives. It is quite possibly the basis for the note by Joel R. Poinsett in *De Bow's Review*, III. No. 5 (May, 1847), 411-412. For other extracts and citations of printed versions, see: Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana* (New Orleans, 1879), III. 393-394; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III. 388-390; John Rydjord, *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain* (Durham, N. C., 1935) pp. 94-95.

The document is not used in the recent studies by Conrotte, Yela Utrilla, and Bemis, on the American Revolution. Its authenticity is debatable.

17. Armendi, Francisco de. Collection of papers relating to, 1803-1833. [MS. Span. 3950. 5F\*]

Armendi was a Spanish official stationed at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela, 1812-1824, and at Santiago de Cuba and Havana, 1824-1833 (or later!). The papers are personal letters, commissions, and service records, of relatively slight importance for Armendi's public career. They throw some light on the defense of Puerto Cabello against the patriots, November 7-8, 1823.

18. Colón de Larreategui, Felix. *Juzgados militares de España e Indias.* 2a edición, aumentada de algunas reglas . . . Tomo III. El formulario de procesos militares.

Quarto; 1 vol.

[MS. Span. 16\*]

Apparently the first edition of the *Juzgados militares* is that published in six volumes (Madrid, Ibarra, 1788-1791). Second and third editions, Madrid, 1814 and 1817. There is also a printed *Compendio de los Juzgados* (2 vol., Madrid, 1793) and *Formulario de Procesos militares* (Valencia, 1810).

19. [Insurrection Papers.] Annals of the Insurrection of the Spanish colonies.  
[Sparks MSS. 93 (3)]

Most of the volume in which this occurs is taken up by Wallenstein, *Sketches for a diplomatic history of the American Revolution*.

20. Perkins, Dexter. The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826.

(Ph.D. Thesis, 1914.)

[Published]

21. Arragon, Reginald Francis. The Panamá Congress of 1826.

(Ph.D. Thesis, 1923.) 655 pp.

[HU 90 . . .]

22. Phelps, William Dane (1802-1875). Logbooks, journals, etc.

[MS. Am. W. 84]

These include, of Hispanic American interest:

(a) Notebook, Brazil and the Mediterranean, 1828-1833.

(b) Seven volumes on trips to California and the South American coasts, 1840-1849.

23. Rich, Obadiah (1777-1850). Notice of manuscripts in my collection referring to America (c. 1830).

25 pp.

[HU 515.39]

24. Sumner, Charles (1811-1874). Letters received, 1830-1874, including twenty-five volumes of foreign correspondence.

170 vol.

[Sumner MSS.]

Owing primarily to Sumner's position as chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1861-1871, his correspondence has considerable interest for Hispanic American historians.

25. Hunnewell, James. Papers, 1839-1869.

10 vol. letter press copies; seven volumes and many "packages" of letters received, ledgers, etc.

[MS. Am. W. 71]

These are valuable primarily for trade with the Pacific, but include occasional papers of interest for Hispanic America.

26. Ship voyages. The library has many logbooks or similar records for the voyages of individual vessels. A few are entered separately, under the geographical sections known to be concerned. Others which seem likely to have Hispanic American and especially South American value, in view of customary ports of call on similar voyages, are:

(a) *Archer* (to South Pacific, 1851-1861).

(b) *Awashonka* (to North Pacific, 1851-1854).

(c) *Behring* (Barque; Capt. B. F. Snow; Boston to Sandwich Islands and return, 1842-1844).

[MS. Am. 451.1 F]

- (d) *Canton* (Gloucester to San Francisco, 1850; Freight lists, bills, autograph letters). [MS. Am. W. 68 PF]
- (e) *Ontario* (Journal by Alexander D. Bunker, of a whaling voyage to the South Seas and Pacific Ocean, 1824-1827). Folio, 99 leaves. [MS. Am. 464.1 F]
- (f) *Triton* (Whaling voyage, New Bedford to the North and South Atlantic, June 1865-May 1868).
- (g) The destinations of some ships are not described by the catalogue entries. As some of them may have interest for Hispanic America, and as there is no way again to locate all the ship logs except by searching the whole file, the names of all ships with undescribed destinations are here given: *Acushnet* (1845-1848); *Charles Drew* (1838-1842); *Charleston Packet* (1851-1854); *Chase* (1843-1844); *Hancock* (nineteenth century); *Herald* (1830-1831); *Heroine* (1835-1839); *Lucas* (1833-1835); *Marcella* (1842); *Martha* (1834-1836); *Orizamba* (1832-1833, 1840-1843); *Robert Edwards* (1835-1841).—Journals of various voyages by Benjamin Soames, 1791-1832; destinations not given except for one voyage to Russia.
- 27. Philippine Islands. Official records and papers referring to taxes, etc. under Spanish rule; blank certificates for use under the Philippine Republic. 8 pieces, different sizes. [MS. Span. 24F]
- 28. Wriston, Henry Merritt. Executive agents in American foreign relations. (Ph.D. Thesis, 1922.) [Published]

## B. SPANISH NORTH AMERICA

*See also:* Documents Nos. 5 (1740), 9, 10, 13, 15, 22b; and Maps Nos. 102, 104, 107.

- 29. Velásquez, Diego. Letter to His Majesty's "Camarero Mayor", Santiago, October 12, 1519. Folio; 7 pp. Copy. Refers to Cortez. [MS. Span. 11]
- 30. [Ribaut, Jean (1520-1565)]. K. B. Gibbs to Buckingham Smith, Fort George Island, December 1, 1849. [Sparks MSS. 41 (15)] Refers to place of Ribaut's landing on St. John's River.
- 31. Villegas, Rodrigo de (of Guatemala). [Mention of, in collection of official documents referring to the financial circumstances of families in Carrón, Spain, 1609-1610.] Folio; 12 pp. [MS. Span. 36F]
- 32. Palafox y Mendoza, Juan de (1600-1659), Bishop of Osma. Epistola ad summum pontificem Innocentum X, de Jesuitarum societate extingueda, vel stricte reformanda. Folio; 27 pp. [S A 20.8 (Vol. 1)]
- 33. Vetancourt, Agustín de. Arte de lengua mexicana, dispuesta por orden y mandado de nuestro reverendíssimo padre fray Francisco Trevino. Dedicado al bienventurado S. Antonio de Padua. Mexico: F. Rodríguez Supercio, 1673.

## English translation.

[1271.64.9\*]

The translation is by Miss C. J. Randolph. The Spanish, printed, version is described by Medina, *Imprenta en México*, No. 1103.

34. La Salle, Sieur de. Papers referring to the discoveries of . . . in America, 1667-1729.

1 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 91]

Copied from originals in the Paris archives.

35. Louisiana. Papers referring to, 1697-1764.

1 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 99]

Copied from originals in the Paris archives.

36. Rengel, José Antonio. Correspondence with José de Gálvez, Chihuahua, 1785-1786.

1 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 98, I]

Original official papers from Spanish sources.

37. Mexico and Central America. Volumes of Spanish official papers, mostly originals or contemporary copies, 1725-1786; as follows:

(a) Royal instructions to the governors of New Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, California, etc., and other papers, 1768-1777.

1 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 98, III]

Includes many documents on the projected *intendencia* (1768), and on the *provincias internas*.

(b) Mexican papers, 1776-1783.

5 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 98, IV-VIII]

(c) Official correspondence with the Governor of Nicaragua, 1743-1757.

2 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 98, IX, X]

(d) Spanish American papers, 1725-1786.

7 vol.

[Sparks MSS. 98, XI-XVII]

Almost entirely on New Spain outside the present United States.

38. Villanueva y Chavarri, Francisco Xavier. Breve resumen y noticia del descubrimiento de la Nueva España, demarcación y descripción de aquellas provincias, Estado de sus iglesias. Sus erecciones. Nota de los obispos. División de sus diezmos, con otras noticias. 1750.

Folio.

[S A 877.50]

Palau y Dulcet, *Manual del Librero*, cites an ancient history (13 vol., Madrid, 1755-1761) by this man. He is otherwise unknown to the standard authorities on Spanish and American writers, including Medina, Beristain, Nicolas León, Gallardo, Salvá, Bancroft, Ticknor, Cejador, the "Espasa" encyclopedia, and various historians of Mexican literature. But see the anonymous manuscript with a similar title listed in Winsor, *op. cit.*, VIII, 246, n. 2.

39. Lower California—Loreto Mission. Records of baptisms and burials, 1768-1770.

2 leaves and 2 fragments; signed by Francisco Palou and Junípero Serra.

[MS. Span. 4F]

40. De Brahm, Capt. John Gerard William (1717-c. 1799). History of the three provinces: South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida [1773].

Folio; [4], 368 pp. Maps and plans.

[MS. Am. 824F]

De Brahm was surveyor and designer of the defenses of Georgia. Another (and lengthier!) manuscript of his "History" is in the British Museum. Forty-nine copies of the part concerning Georgia were printed as *History of the Province of Georgia* (Wormsloe [Ga.], 1849). The part on South Carolina was published in Weston's *Documents* (1856) [*supra*, no. 10]. Cf.: Winsor, *op. cit.*, V. 350-352, 391, 401. [The part relating to Florida is among the future publications of The Florida State Historical Society.]

41. [Costanzo, Miguel]. *Diario histórico de los viages de la California.*  
Sm. quarto; 53, 10 pp. [MS. Span. 25]  
"Transcript from the printed folio edition". [E.g.: *Diario histórico . . . (Mexico, 1776)*.]
42. Gardoqui, José. Representations concerning Spanish claims as to the navigation of the Mississippi, [c. 1786-1787].  
4 leaves. [Lee MSS. VII, Nos. 137, 138]
43. Portlock, Capt. Nathaniel. Extracts from the record of a voyage to the northwest coast of America, 1786-1788.  
16 leaves. [MS. Eng. 524F]
44. Lamb, Horatio Appleton. Notes on the trade with the northwest coast, 1790-1810.  
26 leaves and 11 inserts. Copies. [MS. Am. W. 65]  
From the records of James and Thomas Lamb, merchant shippers of Boston, 1781-1813; originals burned many years ago.
45. Gayoso de Lemos, Manuel. Letter to Anthony Wayne, "On board the Vigilant before New Madrid, October 2, 1795".  
Folio; 4 pp. [MS. Am. 699]  
Refers to the rights of Spaniards to treat with the Indians for cession of the Chickasaw Bluff, and to build a fort there.
46. Channing, Edward. *The Louisiana Purchase.*  
(Ph.D. Thesis, 1880.) [HU 90. 227]
47. Louisiana. Papers relating to commerce.  
Typed; 229 pp. [MS. Span. 13F]  
Copies from the Archives of the Indies, *Papeles de Cuba*, legajos 174, 184, 416, 593, 2317-1, 2317-2.
48. New Orleans, Custom House. Transcript of records, from originals in Seville.  
Folio. [Econ. 7294.5PF\*]
49. Claiborne, William C. C. Statement of imports and exports of the city of Orleans, 1800-1801.  
Typed copy. [Econ. 7294.6\*]  
From his "Correspondence referring to Louisiana", vol. I, 1803-1804, and "Correspondence, Orleans Territory", vol. IV, 1806.
50. Ceballos, Pedro de. Letter, referring to western limits of Louisiana, Aranjuez, 1805.  
Sm. folio; 34 leaves. Copy. [MS. Am. 512]  
Transcript made for A. M. Davis, 1884.

51. Cádiz, Junta general del Comercio. Acuerdos habidos sobre un convoyente y viniente á Veracruz. (Signed by Angel José de Soverone, Cádiz, 3 de noviembre de 1818.)  
35 pp. [MS. Span. 33]
52. Marshall, Josiah (1771-1848). Papers concerning trade with the Sandwich Islands and Canton, 1818-1841.  
4 vol. [MS. Am. W. 63F]  
Marshall was one of the pioneer merchants in the trade with the Pacific coast of North America.
53. Mexico. Tobacco monopoly and industry. Collection of manuscripts, 1821-1833.
54. Brewer, Capt. Charles. Logbook of the schooner *Unity*, 1833.  
1850. [Econ. 7821.160F\*]  
Photostats; 37 sheets. [MS. Am. 470.1F]  
Oahu to Gulf of Mexico, Guadalupe and Mazatlan, January, 1833; return to Oahu via Okhotsk, November 1833.
55. Fremont, John Charles. Substance of statements in interview with Josiah Royce.  
Refers to acts in California, 1845-1846, and other events. [US 38080.25]
56. Larkin, Thomas O. Official despatches to Department of State, California, June 1, 1846-June 30, 1847.  
55 leaves. Copies. [US 38080.25\*]
57. Norton, Charles E., and Guild, C. E. Account books and business records, 1848-1855.  
6 vol. [MS. Com. 1-6]  
Includes some correspondence, 1849-1853, with E. G. Squier. Throws sidelights on Squier's activities and character, though not directly on Central American affairs.
58. William, Henry Franklin. Presidency of Porfirio Díaz.  
(Bowdoin Prize Essay, [1926].) Typed; 28 pp. [UA III. 3.15]
59. Chambers, Raymond. History of transportation in Mexico to 1910.  
(Ph.D. Thesis, 1924.) 652, lxxx pp. Maps. [HU 90.1567]
60. Simpkins, George Winston. The United States and the Mexican oil problem since 1917.  
(Bennett Prize Essay, 1930.) Typed; 152 pp. [UA III. 3.163]
61. Williams, George Dee. Race mixture in Yucatan.  
(Ph.D. Thesis, 1929.) [Published]

## C. THE ANTILLES

On account of the close relationship between the history of present day Haiti and that of Spanish America, items concerning the former region are included below. See also Documents Nos. 2, 5 (1734), 9, 15f, 17, 29; and Map No. 105.

62. Gorham, Major Joseph. Diary, covering the siege of Havana, 1762. [Bourne MSS.]

Printed: W. K. Watkins (ed.), *Capture of Havana in 1762*. [In: Massachusetts Society of Colonial Wars, *Yearbook*, 1899.]

63. Haiti. Papers relating to Haiti, 1784-1830.

33 pieces; mostly French and English.

[MS. Fr. 12F]

64. Stoddard, T. Lathrop. French Revolution in San Domingo.  
 (Ph.D. Thesis, 1914.) [Published]
65. Pedron, M. [———], Ordonateur pr<sup>r</sup> de St. Domingue. Mémoire descriptif de la partie espagnole de Santo Domingo. [1798]  
 Folio; 60 pp. [MS. Fr. 25F]
- The library catalogue dates this item as between 1795 and 1800. Internal evidence fairly well proves it written late in 1798 and very likely in Paris, though from personal knowledge. It bears a "Thorndike" bookplate, presumably that of Israel Thorndike (1757-1832), the Boston merchant who presented the Ebeling library to the university in 1818.
66. Willard, Augustus. Journal of a voyage to the West Indies, October 12, 1798 to April 2, 1799.  
 (Earlier portion missing.) [MS. Am. 772]
67. [Carbonell, Ramón.] Yngenio de la colonia, ó sea Ensayo práctico hecho por los señores Estorch y Cia. para substituir á los negros esclavos con blancos traídeos de Europa. Puerto Principe, Cuba, 1841.  
 Octavo; 16 pp. [MS. Span. 32F\*]
68. Carpenter, Park (Collector). Historical notes concerning Dominican affairs, 1844-1874.  
 2 boxes. [S.A. 2305.3]  
 Notes gathered by Park Carpenter, of Northfield, Minnesota, about 1915-1916, and presented to Harvard in 1916. They include:  
 (a) letters written in search of information about Messrs. Cazneau, Hatch, et. al.;  
 (b) newspaper and printed document clippings;  
 (c) transcripts from the Sumner and Fabens MSS., 1868-1874. The latter were obtained, with reminiscences of her father, from Colonel Joseph W. Fabens's daughter Hannah. (The card catalogues of the Harvard Library and of the Library of Congress show no printed works by Park Carpenter.)
69. Redpath, James (1833-1891). Catalogue of books at the Haytian bureau of immigration, Boston, [c. 1860].  
 Quarto. [MS. Am. 680]  
 Redpath became Commissioner of immigration for Haiti in the United States in 1859. He shortly thereafter became consul for Haiti at Philadelphia.
70. Cuba. Administración central de rentas y estadística. Sección de estadística. Expediente . . . para averiguar la notable diferencia que resulta entre el número de fincas rústicas que registran los resúmenes estadísticos y el que producen los padrones municipales. October 22, 1864-February 8, 1865.  
 62 pp. [MS. Span. 30]
71. Brooke, John R. (1838-1926). (Military governor of Cuba.) Decree establishing elementary and superior schools in the island of Cuba, December 6, 1899.  
 Typed; 2, 11 leaves. [Educ. 1552.1]  
 Original paper, presented to Harvard by Alexis E. Frye, real author of the decree.

72. [In 1925 and 1930, the catalogue showed the following item:]

Santo Domingo. Collection of manuscripts, 1863-1864. [S. A. 2320.20\*]

In 1935 the entry was gone from the catalogue and the number was that of a printed book. The library staff can find no such collection of manuscripts, nor discover anything about the former entry. The compiler of this list would be glad of any information about the item.

This work is not among those ascribed to Soares Barbosa (1737-1816) in Silva, [Aranha, and Fonseca] *Diccionario bibliographico Portuguez* (23 vol., Lisboa and Coimbra, 1858-1927). Cf.: *infra* (e).

- (b) Veiera de Tovar e Albuquerque, Diogo (1775- ). Repertorio ou Index alfabetico remissivo de todas as leys, decretos, cartas regias, etc., desde 1603 ate 1808. 1808.

Folio.

[MS. Port. 4798F]

Apparently not printed. Cf.: Silva, *op. cit.*, II. No. 234, IX. 132; *infra* (e), note.

- (c) Figueiredo Falçao, Luiz de. Livro em que se contem toda a fazenda e real patrimonio dos reinos de Portugal, Indias e islas adjacentes e outras particularidades. [1607.]

Folio; 107 leaves.

[MS. Port. 4793F]

Palha 2944.

Printed (Lisbon, 1859) from a variant manuscript known to have been in the Royal Library of Lisbon in Soares Barbosa's day. Cf.: Silva, *op. cit.*, V. No. 521; *supra* (a).

- (d) Conselho da fazenda. [A large volume, containing among other papers]  
"Alphabeto das resoluções das consultas . . . e alvaras que os reys de Portugal passaram sobre o administraçam da sua real fazenda. Anno 1705".

Folio; 238 leaves for this part.

[MS. Port. 4795-7F]

- (e) [Collection of Laws, etc.] Collecção das leys, decretos, e alvaras que comprehende o feliz reinado de Joze Io [-João VI], 1750-[1822].

16 vol.; imprints with manuscript indices and supplements.

[MS. Port. 78.12F, 78.12.2-5]

Such collections as this are not uncommon. They were frequently made until the first unified compilation by Delgado da Silva (6 vol., Lisbon, 1825-1830). Cf.: Silva, *op. cit.*, II. No. 337, I. No. 606.

#### F. MAPS.

The map room of the Harvard College Library has an enormous collection of printed and some manuscript maps, plans, and charts. These are not, generally speaking, inventoried in the main card catalogue, nor otherwise indexed except for a chronological list kept with the collection. The *Catalogue of the Maps and Charts in the Library of Harvard University* (Cambridge: Metcalf, 1831) lists the Boot map of the Lake of Mexico, the map of Trinidad, and those of Brazil, described below. These are supposed to have been acquired with the Ebeling Library in 1818.

The present compiler is greatly indebted to the library staff, and especially to Mr. Walter B. Briggs, Assistant Librarian, for knowledge of, and about, most of the following.

102. [Arabic maps of North and South America.]  
2 sheets, each 10 x 7 5/8 in. [M 3020.15]
103. Winsor, Justin. [Scrapbook, containing in chronological order manuscript sketches and proofs of reproductions of old maps, many of them used in his works.]  
Folio. [MA 3000.10]
104. Boot, Adrian. *Regionis circa lacum Mexicanum descriptio facta ab Adriano Boot archit. militari et ad negotium aquarum deducendarum deputato.* [Seventeenth cent.]  
7 x 8 in. [Map Room]

Adriaen Boot or Booth (d. 1638) called "*de jonge*" to distinguish him from a brother of the same name, was a Dutch engineer employed from about 1613 in draining the Lake of Mexico. Cf.: Molhuysen and Blok, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, IV. (Leiden, 1918) 216, or Van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek . . . Nieuwe Uitgaaf*, II. pt. 2, p. 892; Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, III. 10, 86; Winsor, *op. cit.*, VIII. 200, 203. Winsor reproduces the map.

105. [Spanish Engineer.] *Carte de l'Ile de la Trinité (Trinidad)* [par un Ingenieur Espagnol employé dans la mensuration de cette Isle.]  
7 x 13 in. [Map Room]

The words in brackets come from the Harvard University Catalogue (1831), *supra*. They do not appear on the face of the map, but the latter is mounted and there is a faint indication of an inscription on the back. To judge from the writing, this map and Boot's *Regionis circa lacum Mexicanum* may be by the same hand. [W. B. Briggs to R. D. H., April 10, 1936.]

106. Brazil. [Maps "levées sur les lieux dans le XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, fort curieuses et assez bien dessinées".] De Capitanie van Paraiba—Wester Deel van de Capitanie van Paraiba—Paranambuca—Camera d'Alagoas in de Capitanie Paranambuca—Camera de Ciriâihaija in de Capitanie Paranambuca—Camera de Porto Calvo in de Capitanie Paranambuca—De Capitanie Cirija—De Capitanie van Itamaraca.  
9 maps; seventeenth cent. [Map Room]

107. Roatan Island, Honduras. Map of, 1744. [Sparks MSS. 98, XII]  
108. Paraguay. Maps of private properties, c. 1905.  
4 items. [Map Room]

*See also*, Nos. 14, 40, 59.

## II

### INDEX OF PERSONAL NAMES

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## D. SPANISH SOUTH AMERICA

*See also* Documents Nos. 9, 13, 17, 22b, 26, 98; and Maps Nos. 102, 108.

73. Monroy y Meneses, Antonio, Obispo de Santa Marta. Carta pastoral, 1723.  
 3 leaves. [In: Span. 581.6F\*]
74. New Granada. Cronología de los virreyes de Santa Fé, 1718-1818.  
 Folio; 19 pp. [S.A. 7208.18F\*]
75. Rivera, Antonio de. Detalles de la ruina de Zaña acaecida el 15 de marzo  
 de 1720.  
 4 leaves. [S.A. 8961.1\*]
- Copied by Dr. M. R. Urquiza, "vicar foráneo de la provincia de Lam-  
 bayeque", Peru, in 1905-1906.
76. Hussey, Roland Dennis. Royal Guipuscoana Company of Caracas, 1728-  
 1784: A Study in the History of Spanish Monopolistic Trading Companies.  
 (Ph.D. Thesis, 1929.) [Published]

77. [Mission Travels.] Spanish narrative of the South American travels of a missionary from the Horstmann convent in Cologne, 1746-1772.

4 pp. [MS. Span. 5\*]

Apparently translated from the preface to a printed book.

78. Escandón, Juan de. Relación de como los Indios Guaraníes de los pueblos de San Juan, San Miguel, San Lorenzo, etc. . . . fueron expulsados de estos á consecuencia del tratado que sobre límites de sus dominios en América celebraron las cortes de Madrid y Lisboa en el año 1750.

Folio; 2, 73, 144 leaves. [MS. Span. 15F\*]

79. Solano, Joseph. Relación de la célebre, quanto festiva batalla de los Borbones, que dispuso, y executó el gobernador de la ciudad de Caracas, Joseph Solano, en las cercanías de dicha ciudad. [§1766!]

Sm. octavo; 16 pp. [S.A. 9727.66\*]

Joseph Solano y Bote (1726-1806), Marqués del Socorro (from 1784) was a noted Spanish naval officer, Governor of Venezuela 1763-1770, and President and Captain General of Santo Domingo 1770-1779. The "festiva batalla" is not mentioned in the reference works consulted about him..

80. Bueno, [Dr.] Cosme (1711-1798). Descripción de las provincias del Perú que van puestas por orden de sus obispados. Faltan los de Buenos Aires y los dos de Chile. D. J. A. de Roxas la embía al Señor Robertson por mano del Señor Lowes. Madrid, 1775.

Quarto; 2 vol. [S.A. 907.63.3]

This valuable and much neglected "Descripción" was published serially, including the parts on Buenos Aires and Chile, in *El Conocimiento de los Tiempos* (Lima, 1764-1778) during Bueno's editorship of that periodical. Several cases are known in which the parts were gathered together with a manuscript title-page, but it was never printed as a book. It is reprinted with a biographical notice by Gabriel Moreno, in M. de Odricozola, *Colección de documentos literarios del Perú* (10 vol., Lima, 1863-1877) III. 3-260. The portion on Chile is also printed in *Colección de Historiadores de Chile*, X. (Santiago, 1876), [289]-319.

*Cf.*: Medina, *Imprenta en Lima*, Nos. 1198, 1213-1441 (*passim*, as to the "Conocimiento"), 1449 (British Museum Catalogue, "Vicente José García Rodríguez"), 1468; Sabin, *Dictionary*, 8987; Rich, *Bibliotheca Americana Nova* (London, 1846), I. 141. The above manuscript is cited in William Robertson, *History of America* (London, 1777, and later) but is not mentioned in the "Catalogue of Spanish books and manuscripts" found in most editions.

81. [Plueer, Carl Christoph (fl. late eighteenth century.)?] "Plüers Sammlungen über Paraguay".

Folio; 1 vol. [MS. Span. 17F]

The papers are chiefly Spanish, but include a few in French and in German.

82. Villeta, Paraguay. Libro de providencias, ordenes y autos, 1804-1857.

Folio; 1 vol. Poor condition. [MS. Span. 18F]

A parish register.

83. Pueyrredón, Juan Martín de. Letters to and from Goyeneche, 1812.

Quarto; 23, 9 pp. [S.A. 5102.2F]

Translated from the Spanish.

84. Paraguay, Junta Gobernativa.  
 (a) Expedición á Corrientes; ordenes de Velasco, Levallos, y Francia á Jaime Ferrer, i contestaciones de esto, 1810, 1811, y 1816.  
 (b) Ocho capitulares del cabildo de Corrientes, año 1811.  
 Folio; together 74 pp. [MS. Span. 23F]
85. Rodney, Caesar Augustus.  
 (a) Diary kept in Buenos Aires, March 2-9, 1818. (10 leaves.)  
 (b) Letter to Governor Pedro Molina of Mendoza, referring to the Monroe Doctrine, February 16, 1824. (3 pp.)  
 (c) Report on visit to Argentina, 1818. (31 leaves.)  
 Folio and quarto; together 43 leaves. [S.A. 5102.2F]  
 The last item is apparently in Brackenridge's hand, corrected by Rodney.
86. Rivadavia, Bernardino. Letter to Caesar Augustus Rodney, Buenos Aires, May 4, 1824.  
 Folio; 1 leaf. [S.A. 5102.2F\*]
87. Venezuela. Treaties. Decreto de 29 de abril [de 1832] ampliando el comercio con la España.  
 Folio; 4 leaves. [S.A. 9508.2\*]  
 Concerns the first treaty between Venezuela and Spain; the original paper establishing it.
88. Corrientes Province, Argentina. Collection of decrees, messages and agreements of the provisional government, 1827-1830.  
 Folio; 18 leaves. [MS. Span. 20F]
89. Francia, Dr. José Gaspar Rodríguez. Memorial of, September 20, 1840.  
 Folio; 26 leaves. [MS. Span. 19F]  
 "Copiado de la colección de B. Mitre, del original."
90. "El Nacional Correntino", Corrientes. Brief extracts from various issues, Nos. 2-91. [MS. Span. 22F]
91. "El Republicano, periodico semanal", Corrientes. Brief extracts from scattering issues, Nos. 2-41 (July 1843-April 1844).  
 Folio; 30 leaves. [MS. Span. 21F]
92. Montt, Luís (1848-1909). Private papers. [S.A. 6822.13]  
 A selection only, of the papers of this Chilean poet and director of the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago. Most of his splendid library is now at Harvard, but the John Carter Brown Library has a number of rare, or possibly unique, imprints from it.
93. Guzmán Blanco, Antonio, President of Venezuela. Decree concerning immigration to Venezuela, 1874.  
 Folio; 6 pp. [S.A. 9686.1F\*]
94. Williams, John Henry. Argentine International Trade under inconvertible paper money, 1880-1900.  
 (Ph.D. Thesis, 1919.) [Published]
- E. BRAZIL
- See also Documents Nos. 22a, 78; and Map No. 106.*
95. Estaço da Silveiro, Simão. Letter, Madrid, 1626.  
 Pp. 2-46. [MS. Span. 37]

Estaõ da Silveiro was the author of the only known approximately contemporary Portuguese imprint (1624) on the French at Maranham, 1612-1615. A note on the back of the preliminary leaf of the above manuscript says it was copied by Rudolf Schuller in the British Museum. It concerns North Brazil.

96. Spring, John H. (Master). Log of the barque *Isaac Ellis*, New York to Rio de Janeiro and return, 1837-1838.

104 pp.

[M.S. Am. 458.1F]

97. Tapajoz. Roteiro da capitania de Matto Grosso, navegação do rio. 1861.  
84 pp.

[S.A. 6038.61\*]

Captain's logbook; everything after page 84 torn out.

98. Brazil, Ejercito. Extracto de ordens do dia do ejercito em operações contra a Republica do Paraguay, 1866-[1867]. [MS. Port. 2\*]

99. Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil. A. L. S., March 6, 1867.

Quarto; 1 p.

[MS. Port. 1]

100. Paula Pessoa, Vicente Alves de (1857- ). A brief history of Brazil.  
Folio; 43 leaves.

[S.A. 5829.05.5]

Translated from the Portuguese by C. F. P. Richardson.

101. Portuguese Empire. In addition to the above items directly on Brazil, there are many collections of manuscripts on the laws and finances of the Portuguese empire in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. These are certain to have data on Brazil, but are not described in detail in the catalogue and have not usually been examined by the present writer. They may be located through the Palha Catalogue (*supra*). The following are listed as representative items.

- (a) [Soares Barbosa, Jeronymo (?).] Breves reflexoens sobre o estado das Rendas reais do Reyno de Portugal pellos annos desde 1607 a 1608.

Folio; 16 leaves; original; 18th cent.  
Palha 2944.

[MS. Port. 4793F]

Gorham, Maj. Joseph, 62.

Lamb, Horatio A., 44.

Goyaneche Barreda, José Manuel, m.  
83.

Lamb, James and Thomas, m. 44.

Grantham, Thomas Robinson, Ld.,  
15a.

Larkin, Thomas O., 56.

Guild, C. E., 57.

La Salle, Sieur de, m. 34.

Guzmán Blanco, Antonio, 93.

Lee, Arthur or Richard Henry, m.

Hakluyt, Richard (Elder or Younger),  
11; m. 10, 11.

15.

Hamilton, Earl J., 6.

Levallos, ———, 84.

Haring, Clarence H., 7.

Lowes, ———, 80.

Hatch, Davis, m. 68.

Luzerne, Chevalier de la, 15g.

Heywood, J. C., 1.

Marshall, Josiah, 52.

Hunnewell, James, 25.

Medina, José Toribio, m. *passim*.

Hussey, Roland Dennis, 76.

Menéndez de Aviles, Pedro, m. 9.

Ingram, David, 10.

Miralles y Troyllón, Juan, 15f, 15i.

Innocent X, m. 32.

Mitre, Bartolomé, m. 89.

Jourdan, Adrien, 14.

Molina, Gov. Pedro, m. 85.

Monroy y Meneses, Bishop Antonio,  
73.

Montt, Luís, 92.

- Moreno, Gabriel, *m.* 80.  
 Muriel, Andrés, *m.* 16.  
 Norton, Charles E., 57.  
 Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop Juan de,  
 32.  
 Palau y Dulcet, Antonio, *m.* 38.  
 Palou, Francisco, 39.  
 Paula Pessoa, Vicente Alves de, 100.  
 Pedro II., of Brazil, 99.  
 Pedron, M. ———, 65.  
 Perkins, Dexter, 20.  
 Phelps, William Dane, 22.  
 Plueer, Carl Christoph, 81.  
 Poinsett, Joel R., *m.* 16.  
 Pollock, Oliver, 15b.  
 Portlock, Capt. Nathaniel, 43.  
 Prescott, William H., *m.* 2.  
 Pueyrredón, Juan Martín de, 83.  
 Randolph, Miss C. J., 33.  
 Redpath, James, 69.  
 Rendón, Francisco, 15f, 15h, 15i.  
 Rengel, José de, *m.* 36.  
 Ribaut, Jean, *m.* 30.  
 Rich, Obadiah, 23; *m.* 2, 80.  
 Richardson, C. F. P., *m.* 100.  
 Rivadavia, Bernardino, 86.  
 Rivera, Antonio de, 75.  
 Robertson, William, *m.* 80.  
 Rodney, Caesar Augustus, 85; *m.* 86.  
 Roxas, J. A., *m.* 80.  
 Royce, Josiah, 55.  
 Rydjord, John, *m.* 16.  
 Sabin, Joseph, *m. passim.*  
 San Fernando, Duque de, *m.* 16.  
 Sanson, Nicolas, 14.  
 Schuller, Rudolph, *m.* 95.  
 Serra, Junípero, 39.  
 Silva, Innocencio Francisco de, *m.*  
 101.  
 Simpkins, George Winston, 60.  
 Smith, Buckingham, *m.* 30.  
 Snow, Capt. B. F., 26c.  
 Soames, Capt. Benjamin, 26g.  
 Soares Barbosa, Jeronymo, 101a; *m.*  
 101c.  
 Solano y Bote, Gov. Joseph, 79.  
 Soverone, Ángel José de, 51.  
 Sparks, Jared, *m. passim.*  
 Spring, Capt. John H., 96.  
 Squier, E. G., *m.* 57.  
 Stoddard, T. Lathrop, 64.  
 Sumner, Charles, 24, 68.  
 Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *m.* 15i.  
 Thorndike, Israel, *m.* 65.  
 Urquiaga, Dr. M. R., *m.* 75.  
 Veiera de Tovar e Albuquerque,  
 Diogo, 101b.  
 Velasco, [Gov. Bernardo de (?)], 84.  
 Velásquez, Diego, 29.  
 Vetancourt, Agustín de, 33.  
 Villanueva y Chavarri, Francisco  
 Xavier, 38.  
 Villegas, Rodrigo de, *m.* 31.  
 Wallenstein, ———, 19.  
 Watkins, W. K., 62.  
 Wayne, Anthony, *m.* 45.  
 Weston, P. C. G., *m.* 10, 40.  
 Wharton, Francis, *m.* 15.  
 Willard, Augustus, 66.  
 William, Henry Franklin, 58.  
 Williams, George Dee, 61.  
 Williams, John Henry, 94.  
 Winsor, Justin, 103; *m. passim.*  
 Wriston, Henry M., 28.

## OTHER NOTES AND ITEMS

The Centro de Estudios de Historia de América of the University of Seville issued in 1935 Volume I. of Dr. Schäfer's *History of the Council of the Indies*, which deals with its organization and its labors to the end of the rule of the house of Austria in Spain. The book has a brief introduction by Professor José María Ots, which is in effect a synopsis of the volume and at the same time an announcement of other publications, among them Professor Haring's *Las Instituciones de Derecho Público de la América Española del período colonial*. Dr. Schäfer's work is in Spanish (his own translation from his German text) and together with his recent monograph, *Las Rúbricas del Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias*, is a production which cannot be ignored by students of Hispanic American history especially of the sixteenth century.—I. A. W.

The Centro de Estudios de Historia de América announced in 1935 the publication of a periodical devoted to the history of America. Considering present conditions in Spain it is problematical whether such a review can survive if inaugurated.—I. A. W.

The Royal Historical Society of the Netherlands issued in 1935 the second and last volume of Miss Irene A. Wright's *Documents on Dutch Seamen in the Caribbean and on the Main, 1621-1648*. The documents deal with Houtbeen, Roosendael, and Domburg, and events especially about Cuba and at Maracaibo; with Pieter Stuyvesant around Curaçao and at San Martín; and with diplomatic and commercial relations at the end of the period. One of the most colorful papers in the lot describes the visit of a Spanish spy to the Dutch settlement on Curaçao. Director Pieter Stuyvesant appears as a wary, courteous host at the head of his table, set with pewter, around which gather his captains, "soldiers all of the Prince of Orange". He was in possession then of both his legs. The one which was missing by the time Stuyvesant became governor of New Amsterdam was shot off in his siege of San Martín, which is described in great detail in section 3 of Part X of Miss Wright's work. The translation into Dutch was made

by Professor Doctor C. F. A. Van Dam of the University of Utrecht.—  
I. A. W.

For persons interested in seeking accounts of the innumerable human oddities scattered along the highway of history, Charles J. Finger has pointed the way in such books as *Frontier Ballads*, *Romantic Rascals*, *Courageous Companions*, *Tales worth Telling*, *The Distant Prize*, and his most recent work entitled *Valiant Vagabonds* (New York, D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936. Pp. 315. \$2.50). Here are the stories of some of the "Forgotten Men" of history—men who for adventure's sake or to satisfy their own curiosity braved unknown dangers in many parts of the world. Of special interest to the student of Hispanic American history are the stories of Gardiner (chapter XII), Cambiaso (chapter XIII), Ambrosio and Bernardo O'Higgins (chapter XIV), and "A Net of Odd Fish" (chapter XV). The work is loosely written, but it is interesting; and anyone who has a few hours to spare in the author's company may get a vicarious thrill from *Valiant Vagabonds*.—A. C. W.

No. 2 of Series A of the "Monografías de la Universidad de Puerto Rico" *Estudios Históricos*, is by Dr. Concha Meléndez and is entitled *La Novela Indianista en Hispano-América (1832-1889)* (Madrid, Imprenta de la Librería y Casa Editorial Hernando (S. A.), 1934, pp. 195, \$1.60). The volume is copyrighted by the University of Puerto Rico, where it may be obtained. The preface is by Professor R. Brenes-Mesen of Northwestern University. Following her introduction, Dr. Meléndez discusses her subject in four sections: Orígenes de la novela indianista; Novelas históricas; Novelas poemáticas; and La Novela indianista de reivindicación social. The first section is divided into four chapters: Literatura de la conquista y la colonia; Influencias extranjeras; El Indianismo en la revolución; and Antecedentes en la poesía y el drama románticos hasta 1846. The second section consists of four chapters: Las Novelas Indias de Avellaneda; La Leyenda de Lucía de Miranda en la novela; México: Novelas históricas; Enriquillo, por Manuel de Jesús Galván. Section III has five chapters: Novelas breves en las Antillas; La Novela indianista en Venezuela: José R. Yépes; México: Novelas poemáticas; Cumandá o un drama entre Salvajes; and Huincahual. Section IV has a chapter entitled Aves sin nido, por Clorinda Matto de Turner. The volume is of interest to historians.

Not often does so pleasantly a written book come from press as that by C. C. Martindale, S. J., namely, *Athens, Argentine, Australia* (New York, Sheed & Ward, Inc., 1936, pp. 278, \$2.50). While written mainly for a Catholic audience, it will be found pleasing to non-Catholics as well, if for no other reason than the manner of its writing, and its suggestions. The portion relating to Argentina is, of course, of special interest to students of Hispanic American history and institutions. The author of the volume went to Argentina especially to attend the 32d Eucharistic Congress held there in 1935. Thence he was to return to England by way of Australia, which country he had previously known. Pp. 56-196 concern the visit to Argentina, which the author calls "Argentine actuality". The volume is written almost as if set down originally in a diary. Chapter I of the Argentina section describes the journey to Buenos Aires via Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo. Chapter II pertains to the congress. Chapter III relates to the journey "over the Andes to Chile and Panama". Chapter IV is on "Meditation on the land and on the sea". In the course of these chapters, Father Martindale touches on many things, both on modern and past history, all interwoven in the present. The work is marred with a few mistakes in proofreading. For instance, on p. 81, the Paraná River masquerades under the name of "Panama"; and on the same page, the discoverer of Argentina is called "Juende Solis". A line is apparently missing at the bottom of p. 124—but this error and perhaps the others may be charged to the printer. The author freely admits that he may be mistaken as to his impressions of the country; but his account is an excellent chatty survey of the country and of the people.

Miss Grace Gardner Griffin in her *Writings on American History, 1931* (Washington, 1936, pp. xxix, 420, \$1.25), has presented her usual scholarly "Bibliography of Books and Articles on United States and Canadian History published during the year 1931, with some memoranda on other portions of America". Titles pertaining to "Latin America" are found on pp. 325-349.

Milo A. Borges is the compiler of a very useful work, namely, *Compilación ordenada y completa de la Legislación Cubana (1899-1934)*. This interesting and useful compilation was published by Cultural, S. A. at Havana in 1935 (pp. cxliii, 929). There is reproduced

at the beginning of this volume a decree (No. 1690) signed by President Mendieta, granting permission to Señor Borges to publish "without official character, a book . . . comprehending a synopsis of all the conventions and treaties ratified by the republic, and of all the laws, decrees, and regulations published in the *Official Gazette*, from 1899 to December 31, 1934, grouped systematically by topics, in chronological order, the same to have a complete alphabetical index". There is also appended to the volume a commendatory letter from Dr. José V. Tapia, *presidente de sala, jubilado, del Tribunal Supremo*, dated May 3, 1935. The compilation is preceded by the alphabetical index, which is complete and easily used. The compilation itself is most carefully and painstakingly executed, and can not fail to be serviceable to all those who consult it. Appendix 1, of the work is "Legislación española incluida en la obra" (p. 805); appendix 2, consists of "Ordenes, Circulares, Reglamentos, etc., del Gobierno Militar que ocupó la Isla del 1º de Enero de 1899 al 20 de Mayo de 1902, incluidos en la obra" (pp. 806-813). Appendix 3 is "Leyes y decretos de la República de Cuba del 20 de Mayo de 1902 al 31 de Diciembre de 1934" (pp. 814-929). An immense amount of labor has gone into this work which can only be appreciated by those who have performed similar gruelling work. A companion piece by the same author is his *Suplemento de 1935* (Havana, Cultural, S. A., 1936, pp. cviii, 195). The publication of this Supplement was authorized by President José A. Barnet, in a decree issued on February 5, 1936. A note concerning the work published in *La Jurisprudencia al Día* of Cuba says of the first volume that "it has caused the disappearance of the confusion which has hitherto reigned" in Cuba because of the lack of such a compilation. The *Suplemento* is as carefully worked out as is the first volume. Señor Borges is a lawyer in New York associated with the law firm of Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt and Mosle, and is "Abogado del Consulado de Cuba en Nueva York". The work is admirable in all respects.

Effie Mona Mack, in her *Nevada: A History of the State from the earliest Times through the Civil War* (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1936, pp. 495, \$6.00), discusses early Spanish exploration in the eastern and southern parts of the Great Basin by Coronado. In this connection she says: ". . . in all the wanderings of the Spanish explorers, there is no definite proof that a

single one of them entered the boundaries of Nevada, unless it be Father Francisco Garces". On pp. 104-106, is described the Mexican-California trade route (1830-1848), part of which led through Nevada. Miss Mack's work offers an excellent history to the end of the Civil War.

The *Franciscan History of North America* forms Vol. XVIII, No. 18 (December, 1936), of "The Franciscan Educational Conference". This contribution was published by the Conference and bears imprint "Office of the Secretary, Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, D. C.". Of interest to students of Hispanic America are the following sections: "Franciscan Historians of North America", by Fr. John Lenhart, O. F. Cap. Lect. Em., pp. 1-53; "The Franciscans in New Spain", by Fr. Joseph Thompson, O. F. M., pp. 54-97; "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest", by Fr. Bonaventure Oblasser, O. F. M., pp. 98-123; "Spanish Franciscans in the Southeast", by Fr. Diomede Pohlkamp, O. F. M., pp. 124-150; "The Franciscan Martyrs of North America", by Fr. Marion Habig, O. F. M., pp. 274-330; and "The Franciscan Historians and History", by Fr. Maynard Geiger, O. F. M., pp. 359-378. The volume is throughout interesting and should have a wide circulation. There is a minimum of ecclesiastical verbiage and a general sanity of outlook and treatment.

The Department of Middle American Research of the Tulane University of Louisiana published in 1935 as No. 6 of the "Middle American Research Series" a work entitled *Guatemala Textiles*, by Lilly de Jongh Osborne (pp. 111, illus. index). The text, which is well illustrated (partly in colors), has chapters on "Indians", "Indian clothes (women)", "Indian clothes (men)", "Spinning and loom weaving", "Technique and trimmings", "Dyeing processes", "Designs and symbols", "Customs", "Miscellaneous weaving", "Trade routes". There are also appendices as follows: "Foot-loom as used in El Salvador"; "Indian Tribes mentioned (with map)"; and "Locations of towns in Departamentos". The foreword is by Dr. Frans Blom. Mrs. Osborne has lived the greater part of her life in Guatemala and El Salvador, where she became vitally interested in Indian customs and beliefs. Her collection of Guatemala textiles is unsurpassed and she has made a thorough study of them, being an authority on the technique involved in their weaving. The illustrations of this

treatise are excellent, especially the three color prints. This little work gives authentic information concerning Guatemala textiles from all points of view. It is worth serious study, not only by the student of history, archaeology, and anthropology, but also by artists and craftsmen.

The *Saga of a Frontier Seaport*, by Coleman McCampbell (Dallas, South-West Press, [c1934], pp. viii, 167, \$2.00), gives many of the salient facts relative to the town of Corpus Christi, Texas. The region in which this town is located is one in which the Mexican influence has been and is still felt. The town is still a frontier town and doubtless will so continue. If one discount the poor form of the narrative, he will find much of interest—an interest more or less common to other towns on the Mexican-United States border. As an old newspaper man, the author has chosen the data that illumine his subject.

Dr. G. W. Umphrey, of the University of Washington, has edited (through Benj. H. Sanborn & Co., Chicago, 1936, pp. lvii, 242) a selection (24 items in all) of the *Tradiciones Peruanas* of the Peruvian litterateur Ricardo Palma. An introduction by Dr. Umphrey contains a sketch and appreciation of the erudite author and an historical sketch of Peru, in which one can see the setting of the selections chosen. The volume is adequately edited. It is recommended as having a place on the shelves of the historical student.

Vol. X, August, 1934, of *Analecta Sacra Tarragonensis* (Biblioteca Balmes Duran i Bas, 11 Barcelona, 1935, pp. 160) is devoted to "Bibliografía Hispánica de Ciències Històrico-Eclesiàstiques" and consists of the "Bibliografía de 1933". The *Analecta Sacra Tarragonensis* is published annually. It is dedicated to the religious sciences in the most complete sense of the word. Ten volumes (1925-1934), each with over 500 pages, have appeared, at the price of 30 pesetas each. Since 1932, the review is being published in three or four parts, classified according to the subject matter. The present fascicle presents a summary of all scientific works published in Spain and the foremost volumes published in foreign countries on Spanish themes. Since 1932, the bibliography alone fills one of the fascicles under the direction and editorship of R. Dr. Josep Vives. Among collaborators are R. Dr. Josep Casanelles, Lewis Hanke, R. Dr. An-

toni Raventós, and R. Dr. Josep Rius Serra. The present number consists of two parts: A. All the works (books, pamphlets, and articles in reviews), published in Spain and meeting three conditions—namely, they must treat of a religious or ecclesiastical, scientific, or research and historic theme. B. The principal works published in foreign countries meeting the three above mentioned conditions and one more—they are to treat of Spanish matters. Materials are arranged as follows: Author, title, and if it was published in a review, the name of the review, together with the volume, number, year, and number of pages; and if a book, the place, year, and number of pages. To some of the titles there is appended a short résumé of the work, and its purpose, but without criticism. Those titles which have been furnished by the collaborators are credited to them at the end of the citation; all without such indication are by Dr. Vives himself. All explanatory remarks and notes are in Catalan, but the titles are given in their original language. The fascicle is divided into Autors. Historia literaria Hispanisme, pp. 5-39, Nos. 5232-5518; Biblioteques i Arxius, pp. 39-48, Nos. 5519-5602; Historia, pp. 48-90, nos. 5603-6009; Art, Arqueología hispánica, pp. 91-113, nos. 6010-6205; Litúrgia, Hagiografía, pp. 113-122, Nos. 6206-6286; Institucions juridiques, pp. 122-132, Nos. 6287-6378; Teologia i Filosofia, pp. 132-138, Nos. 6379-6437; Bíblica, pp. 138-146, Nos. 6379-6405. The volume concludes with a Llista d'autors, pp. 147-153, a Llista de Revistes, pp. 154-156; and a section "Publicacions rebudes", pp. 157-160, consisting of titles received after the volume was ready for press, all these being for 1933, 1934, and 1935. This fascicle, which has its own pagination, is pp. 173-328 of the complete volume. This is an important publication. Mr. Hanke contributed many of the titles, especially those emanating from the United States.

Mrs. Rose Flateau, 225 Central Park, West, New York City, recently offered for sale a volume of *Reales Cédulas* of the Spanish Kings, covering the period 1562-1661. The cédulas are addressed to the viceroys of Mexico, and are bound in a seventeenth century parchment cover lettered "R<sup>s</sup> Cédulas de su M<sup>d</sup> originales i testimoniadas desde el año 1562 hasta el de 1660 [sic] N<sup>o</sup> 4". These royal decrees are generally signed by the "Yo el Rey", and each document has numerous other names as attests, etc. Most of them appear to be the originals, but a few are *testimonios* or functioning copies. At the be-